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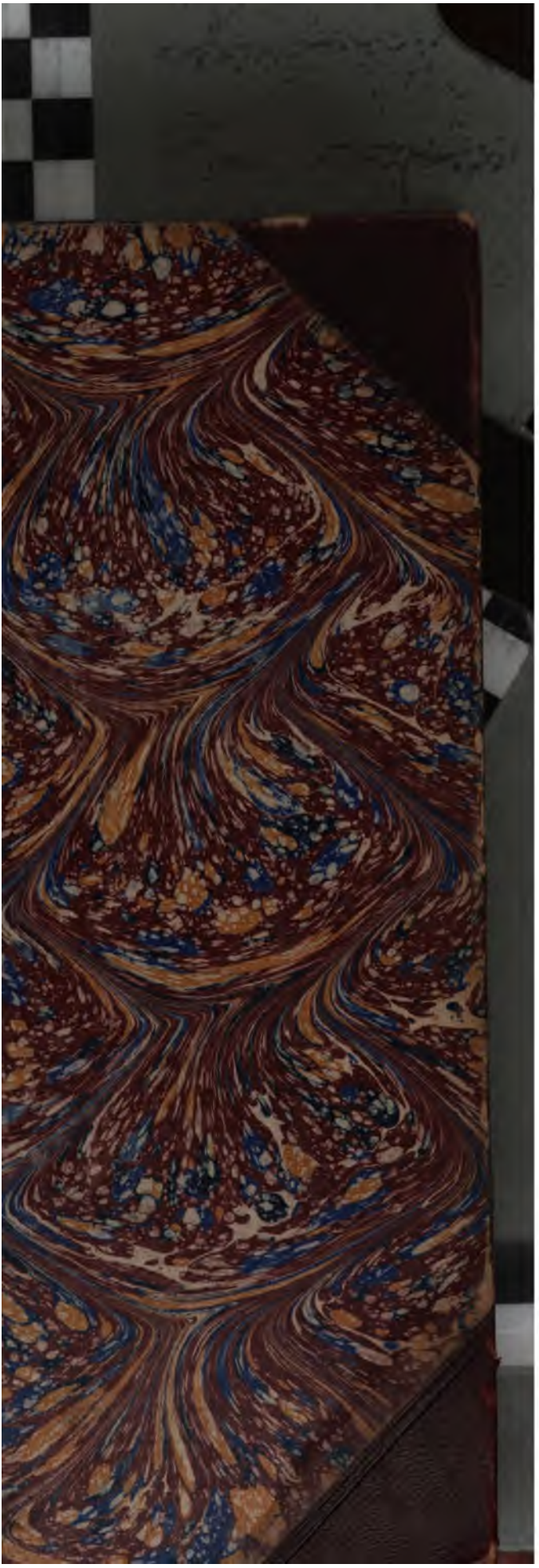

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

	PAGE
On some recent Discoveries in South-Western Arabia. By CAPT. W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S. (*Map*)....	1– 28
On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians. Nos. II. and III. By H. FOX TALBOT, D.C.L.	29– 79
On Joseph's Tomb in Sechem. By PROF. DONALDSON, K.L., Ph.D. (*Plate*)	80– 82
On a ן Conjugation as a character of early Shemitic Speech. By R. CULL, F.S.A.	83–109
On the coincidence of the Histories of Ezra and Nehemiah. By REV. DANIEL HAIGH, M.A.	110–113
Remarks upon a Terra Cotta (Assyrian) Vase. By REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A. (*Plate*).....	114–118
The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia. BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.	119–145
Note on the New Moabite Stone	146
On the Date of the Fall of Nineveh and the Beginning of the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar. By J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S. (*Three Plates*)	147–178
The Legend of Ishtar descending to Hades. By H. FOX TALBOT, D.C.L.	179–212
The Chaldean Account of the Deluge. By GEORGE SMITH	213–234
On the Phœnician Passage in the Pœnulus of Plautus. By REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.	235–242
On Nimrod and the Assyrian Inscriptions. By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.	243–249
Translation of an Egyptian Hymn to Amen. By C. W. GOODWIN, M.A.	250–263
Illustrations from Borneo of Passages in the Book of Genesis. By ALEX. MACKENZIE CAMERON	264–266

PAGE

On the Identity of Ophir and Taprobane, and their Site indicated. By ALEX. MACKENZIE CAMERON.... 267–288

The Olympiads in connexion with the Golden Age of Greece. By W. R. A. BOYLE, Esq..... 289–300

Note on Egyptian Prepositions. By P. LE PAGE RENOUF..... 301–320

On a New Fragment of the Assyrian Canon belonging to the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser. By GEORGE SMITH 321–332

Note on M. Lenormant's "Lettre sur l'Inscription Dédicatoire Himyaritique du Temple du Dieu Yat'a à Abian." By CAPT. W. F. PRIDEAUX, 333–345

On the Religious Belief of the Assyrians, No. IV. BY H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S. 346–352

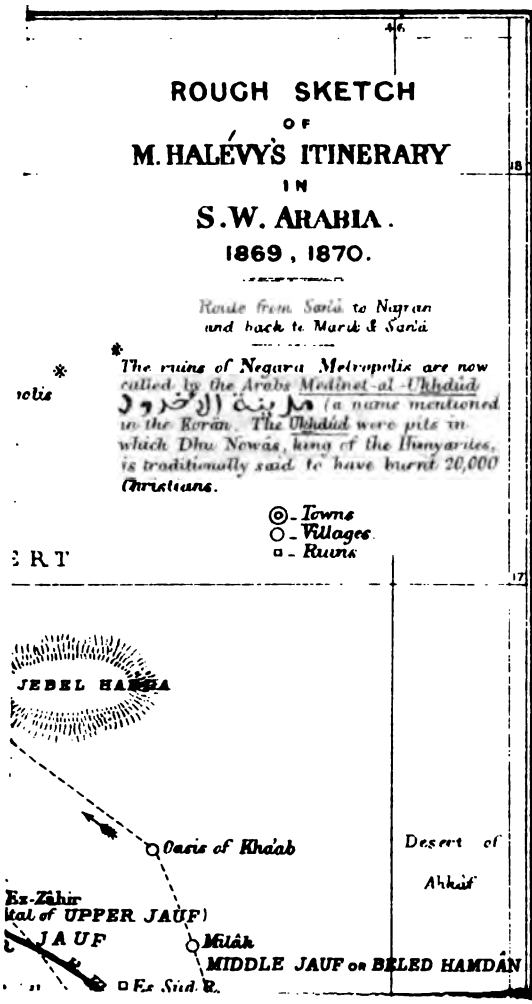
Egyptian Hymns to Amen. By C. W. GOODWIN, M.A. 353–359

Illustrations of the Prophet Daniel from the Assyrian Writings. By H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S. 360–364

Index to Vol. II. ..... i–xv

List of Members..... xvi–xxiv

Society of Biblical Archæology, Rules of ..... xxv–xxvi


ROUGH SKETCH
OF
M. HALÉVY'S ITINERARY
IN
S.W. ARABIA.
1869, 1870.
Route from Sanâ to Nagran
and back to Marib & Sanâ
The ruins of Negara Metropolis are now called by the Arabs Medînet-al-Ukhdûd مدينة الاخدود (a name mentioned in the Koran. The Ukhdûd were pits in which Dhu Nowâs, king of the Himyarites, is traditionally said to have burnt 20,000 Christians.
- Towns
- Villages
- Ruins
JEBEL HA
Oasis of Kha'ab
Desert of
Ahkâf
Ez-Zâhir
tal of UPPER JAUF)
JAUF
Milâh
MIDDLE JAUF or BELED HAMDÂN
Es Siid R.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. II. JULY, 1873. PART 1.

ON SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES IN SOUTH-WESTERN ARABIA.

BY CAPTAIN W. F. PRIDEAUX, F.R.G.S., *Bombay Staff Corps.*

Read 7th January, 1873.

OF the earliest inhabitants of those countries which fringe the southern shores of the Red Sea, no records now exist. But there is little doubt that they belonged to a branch of that great Cushite race, whose extinction is perhaps the most wonderful of all the vicissitudes of history.[1] The founders of civilisation in the East, preëminently of a materialistic and constructive genius, and apparently endowed with every element of permanence, it might have been supposed that these peoples would have been the last to decay and make room for others.

The discoveries of late years have furnished us with abundant evidence that, in addition to being the mightiest architects the world has ever known, these early Cushites were careful astronomers, painstaking historians, skilful agriculturists; but whilst the massive ruins of Nineveh and

[1] Rénan, Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques, ptie. i, 1863, pp. 59, 60, 321.

Babylon remain, their builders have passed away into an ethnographical enigma.

Whilst we may safely assume that the first settlers on either coast of Bab-el-Mandeb were of kindred race to the giant builders in the plain of Shinar, and were themselves identical in origin, their future destinies were widely different. Centuries passed away and left the western shore undisturbed by invasion, or even immigration, but the influence of a neighbouring Semite people gradually made itself felt among the Cushite race inhabiting Southern Arabia, and eventually, by a process which must have resembled a revolution, became the ruling element in the country. In the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis these two races are respectively designated under the names of סבא *Seba* the son of Cush, and שבא *Sheba* the son of Joktan, and from the mention of the former people in two places in Isaiah, it is evident that the amalgamation (or whatever may be the appropriate term) must have taken place subsequent to the time of that prophet. From the lofty stature of the people of Seba (Isaiah xlv, 14), and from other indications, Caussin de Perceval is of opinion that the people of 'Âd, famed in early tradition as the original inhabitants of Yemen, and the builders of the celebrated Irem Dhât-al-'Imâd in Abyan,[1] were no other than the Cushite Sabæans, and that those who were discontented with the new order of things fled to the opposite coast of the Red Sea, and became the ancestors of the present Abyssinians, an Arabo-Cushite people super-imposed upon an Africo-Cushite stock.[2]

The amalgamation of the two peoples probably took place about B.C. 700, or a few years after the death of Isaiah, as the name of Seba is never found in the sacred writings of a later date. I am inclined to think that the Æra of the Himyarites must be attributed to this period; at all events, the only two dates with which we are acquainted in the

[1] There still exists a village called 'Imâd, on the borders of Abyan, about seven miles from Aden, but the Arabs are quite ignorant of any tradition attaching to the spot.

[2] Caussin de Perceval, Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, tom. i, pp. 42, et seq.

inscriptions would seem to countenance this hypothesis.[1] But although the name of Seba was lost, and that of Sheba alone is found in the Hebrew records, the absence of the letter *shin* from the Greek and Roman alphabets, and the practice of the Arabs in writing Hebrew words to confound *samech* with *shin*, has caused the united races to be commonly designated Sabæans (more correctly, Shabæans), and later still, Himyarites, probably from their practice of inscribing and daubing with red their public buildings.

Whatever may have been the form of government in Yemen anterior to the Shabæan occupation, there is clear proof that it was monarchial in later times, and from the designation of the king, *Malik*, it may be inferred that it was of the same patriarchal type as we are acquainted with in the earlier days of Hebrew history.[2] These Shabæan kings, and their nobles, appear to have become rapidly assimilated to the ancient owners of the soil. The Himyaritic was still retained as the court language; the constructive habits of the people lost nothing by the change. Though it is probable that the city of Zhafâr was built in very early times (Gen. x, 30), and though Mârib and Maryab formed, as we are told by Al-Hamdânî, two tribes of the 'Arab-al-'Arabiya, or præ-Ḳaḥṭanide Arabs; the massive structures of Ḥiṣn Ghorâb, Naḳb-al-Ḥajar, the Dyke of Mârib, the cities of Najrân, 'Amrân, Ṣabwah, and the far-famed palaces of Ghomdân, Saḥlîn, Kaukabân, Ṣirwâḥ and Nâ'it, may be ascribed to the period included between the year B.C. 700 and the Christian era.

[1] The date mentioned in the Hadhramaut inscription of Wröde (published by the Baron von Maltzan) must belong to a different Æra to that of the Himyarites (see *postea*, p. 19).

[2] It is curious to observe the light thrown upon the character of ancient races by the simple name attaching to their chief magistrate. Whilst the German tribes chose as their chief and leader the wisest of them all, the one cunning of head and cunning of hand, and the law-abiding Romans a director and regulator, the possessor of the largest flocks and herds, the most extensive pastures, preferred the best claim to power amongst the ancient Semites, though as the wielder of that power he was, as a shaikh of the present day is, only *primus inter pares*. On the other hand, the root employed by the African Cushites, NGS, implies, both in Æthiopic ነገሥ and in Arabic نجس, absolute command and compelling power, and the term derived from it aptly becomes the ruler of the plastic but faithless-natured Abyssinians.

Up to a recent period we possessed no sources of information regarding the great Himyaritic kingdom except the semi-fabulous statements contained in the writings of the Arab historians, Ḥamza of Ispahan, Abu-l-Fida, Ibn-Khaldûn, Nowairî, &c., and a few passages to be found in the Greek and Roman geographers. But at the time when the former wrote the mists of tradition had gathered very closely over the history which they professed to tell, and mythical narratives of expeditions into China and Central Asia from the south-western corner of Arabia, filled up the space which would have been better devoted to a description of the country itself, its domestic annals, its laws, institutions, and manners. It is true that there have lately come to light in Yemen some valuable manuscripts of an ancient authority, Abu Moḥammed Al-Ḥasan bin Aḥmed bin Ya'ḳûb, a native of Hamdân in Yemen, who in his two great works, the Iklîl fî Ansab, and the Kitâb Jazîrat-al-'Arab, displays a wealth of antiquarian erudition and of geographical lore, which in our present state of knowledge renders them indispensably necessary to the student of ancient Arabian history. But we must recollect that even Al-Hamdânî lived as late as three hundred years after the fall of the Himyaritic kingdom, and that it rarely happens that after such an interval events can be orally handed down to posterity without grievous distortion.

The geographical evidence is of greater moment, for though fragmentary in the extreme, it enables us to fix, as I believe with tolerable exactitude, the age of the more important monuments which late discoveries have brought to light, and which from their extent may be reasonably assumed to belong to the more flourishing period of the Himyaritic kingdom.

Within the last few years, however, we have become possessed of numerous memorials of the people themselves, and these furnish us in some measure with those details which the Arab writers, who limited themselves to recording little more than what is conventionally termed history, that is, the names, genealogies, and deeds of royal personages, have omitted to supply. The most important of these contemporaneous monuments are the tablets of stone and

bronze which abound in all the ruined cities of Yemen and Ḥadhramaut; coins; and works of art. Of the first, seventy or eighty have been brought to Aden from the interior, the greater number of which have found a resting place in the British Museum, whilst we possess between 700 and 800 copies of other inscriptions discovered *in situ* by Wellsted, Cruttenden, Arnaud, Halévy, and others. To M. Halévy we are indebted for no less than 686 of these inscriptions. The majority, it is true, are mere fragments, and several of them are so incorrectly copied as to be almost useless. The general results of these discoveries are, however, of the highest importance, and they will be briefly commented on below.

It was for a considerable time doubted whether any Himyaritic coins existed. In 1868, however, the industry and vigilance of M. Adrien de Longpérier, the eminent French numismatist, were rewarded by discovering in a silver piece supposed to be of Sassanide origin, an undoubted Himyaritic coin, bearing on the reverse, in unmistakeable characters, the word 𐩹𐩺𐩵𐩬 *Raidân*, the well-known seat of the Sabæan monarchy.[1] The remainder of the inscription and the two monograms, one on either side, have not been satisfactorily deciphered, though, were a second specimen discovered and compared, the difficulties attendant on the great similarity of several of the Himyaritic characters would probably be solved. Each side of the coin bears a head, adorned with long ringlets, such as, from the epithet (Dhu Nowâs) applied to one of the latest of the race, we are led to believe the Himyaritic kings affected. M. de Longpérier is of opinion that the date of this coin is not later than the destruction of the great dyke at Mârib, which Caussin de Perceval fixes at about the year A.D. 120.

In the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, read on the 15th May, 1871, it is mentioned that Capt. S. B. Miles had presented the Society with two Himyaritic coins, a silver and a gold one, and, the Report adds, "the first hitherto discovered." This statement, however, as we have seen above, is not quite correct.

I have not seen Captain Miles' coins, and can therefore

[1] Revue Numismatique, 1868, p. 169.

form no opinion about them, but from the five or six specimens which I have been fortunate enough to bring to light myself, it is clear to me that they owe their origin to the influence of Greek art in the country. The most ancient coin which I have been able to discover is an archaic drachma of Athens, bearing on the obverse the head of Athena, and on the reverse the figure of an owl. On the face of Athena is stamped the Himyaritic letter ┐, probably the initial of the name of the king in whose time the coin was current; another small silver coin, also forwarded by me to the British Museum, bears the head of a young man on the obverse, and the figure of an owl on the reverse. On a coin lately brought into Aden (which unfortunately I was not able to secure) the figure of an owl also appears on the reverse, but whilst the representations on the two coins referred to above were of indisputably Greek workmanship, the latter coin was as evidently the outcome of a native die, the owl being a complete travesty of the Attic bird, and the head of the king on the obverse being *concinnatus*, and placed between two monograms. A Himyaritic monogram is not unlike an English one, and may generally mean anything, according to the fancy of the reader, but the word "Yanaf" is, I think, not to be mistaken in the figure ┐, whilst the other one might as easily be dissected into "Samah'alî." There was more than one prince of the name of "Samah'alî Yanaf," and though it is of course impossible to assign this coin to any one of these in particular, it may be safely affirmed that its date is anterior to A.D. 120.

It is pretty clear, from an examination of these coins, that whilst the earlier princes were content to adopt the coinage of Greece, and to convert it to their own purposes by simply affixing a distinguishing mark, the later kings had a mint of their own in the palace of Raidân, from whence issued various types of coin. No two of those that I have seen are exactly similar.

Of the state of art amongst the ancient Himyarites we know but little, and the few specimens that have come down to us would lead us to suppose that in this matter Babylonian and Egyptian influence predominated. A few

bas-reliefs in stone and alabaster exist, representing men in profile with long hair, either walking or riding on camels, and wearing a kind of short tunic with a girdle; two of these are engraved in Dr. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*,[1] and a third was presented to the Royal Asiatic Society last year by Captain Miles. I recently met with a fourth, representing a man apparently starting on the chase, and attended by two dogs, who were springing upon him; this was considerably larger than those above mentioned, and differed from them in being headed with a long inscription (unfortunately in fragments), whilst the others merely had the words "Picture of So-and-So," sculptured in relief above them.

Cruttenden, in his *Narrative of a Journey to San'â*, states that he found in the Imâm's garden a marble head, apparently of some ancient object of idolatry, which he was able to carry off with him. I have also in my possession a marble head, which I presume is similar to that discovered by Cruttenden, though I am told it was found at Mârib. The head is evidently that of a female goddess, or caryatid, nearly life-size, and with features of a distinct African (Cushite) type. The iconoclastic zeal of the early proselytisers of Yemen has probably spared but few of these relics.

These specimens tend to prove that the native art of the Sabæans was in an undeveloped state, and, such as it was, was borrowed from the kindred races of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. But there is no doubt that as the wealth and influence of the Sabæan kings increased, large importations of works of art were made by the Greek and Roman vessels trading with the ports of Yemen, the chief of which was then, as now, Aden. The author of the *Periplus* informs us that in his time silver and gold plate, and brass ware (χαλκουργήματα) were largely imported. In the latter category must, I think, be placed a very spirited little head of a lynx, with its fore quarters in the act of springing, which was recently dug up at 'Amrân (the city where the majority of the British Museum Inscriptions were found), and is now in the national collection. The shoulders of the lynx are encircled with a garland of vine and ivy leaves, and though

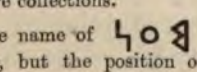
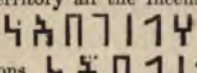
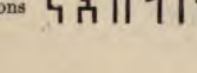
[1] Vol. ii, Edin., 1847, p. 747.

it originally perhaps formed part of an article of furniture, we can scarcely err in describing it as an emblem of the Dionysiac worship, of which, from the time of Herodotus downwards, Arabia was one of the principal seats.

In proceeding to inquire into the historical facts conveyed to us by the inscriptions, and their date, it will be well to glance first of all at the discoveries of M. Joseph Halévy in Yemen, the results of which are published, without note or comment, in the *Journal Asiatique* of February–March, 1872.

M. Halévy's inscriptions, 686 in number, are divided into eleven classes, namely, those discovered in (1) San'â and its environs; (2) the Beled Khaulân; (3) the Beled Arḥab; (4) the Beled Neḥm; (5) the Beled Hamdân; (6) the Lower Jauf; (7) the Beled Nejrân; (8) the Upper Jauf; (9) the Wâdî Raḥaba; (10) the Wâdî Abida; and, finally, those found by him in Aden on his return, of uncertain origin. Of these, those discovered in the Beled Hamdân are by far the most important, as they satisfactorily demonstrate the existence of a large and powerful monarchy, independent of the kingdom of Sabâ, though from one or two indications (*H.* 354)[1] I am inclined to think the two states may have occasionally been under the sway of one and the same ruler. M. Halévy believes, with much plausibility, that the kingdom (the capital of which appears to have been situated at the modern Ma'în) represents the great nation of the Minæans[2] (*Μιναῖοι μέγα ἔθνος*), and it must be admitted that, geographically speaking, there is much to be said for this hypothesis. The accompanying rough map, for which I am indebted to the Baron de Maltzan, will give some idea of

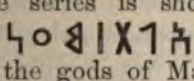
[1] Reference to the inscriptions discovered by Arnaud and Halévy will be made by the letters *A* and *H*, followed by the number of the inscription in their respective collections.

[2] The name of  more closely approaches that of the *Manitæ* of Ptolemy, but the position of this tribe would appear to be too far to the northward. There can be little doubt that the *Gebanitæ* of Pliny, through whose territory all the incense was carried (Lib. xii, cap. 32), are represented by the  of No. 187, &c. (sometimes written in the inscriptions ).

the position of Ma'în inrelation to Sabâ, as well as afford a sketch of M. Halévy's route and of the field of Himyaritic exploration, so far as it is at present known.

A considerable number of the kings of Ma'în are mentioned in the inscriptions, and from these lists it appears to have been a common practice for the father to associate himself with the son in the sovereignty, whence we may infer that, as in the later days of the Roman Empire, the dynasty did not always feel itself very secure. The following are the principal reigns we find recorded: Il-yafa' Yatha' and his son Ma'di-Kariba; Ab-yada' Yatha' and his son Khal-Kariba Ṣâdiḳ; Yatha'-il Rayyâm and his son Tobba'-Kariba; Yatha'-il Ṣadiḳ and his son Waḳah-il Yatha', and again the latter's son Il-yafa' Yashar; who was probably the father of Hafnam Rayyâm; Il-yafa' Rayyâm and his sons Hawwaf-'Atht, and Waḳah-il. The names of two other joint kings are also given: Hafnam Ṣâdiḳ and Il-yashar.

The present state of our knowledge does not permit us to determine with accuracy the sequence of these reigns, but I believe the order I have followed above is tolerably correct. This dynasty probably reigned between B.C. 100 and A.D. 200.

The gods chiefly worshipped in Ma'în were different to those whose names we so frequently find in the Sabæan inscriptions. The following list is taken from the 485th inscription of M. Halévy, and contains, I believe, all those of which we have any information, although the incompleteness of the series is shown by the words which terminate it:  *wa-kul Alilat Ma'n*, "and all the gods of Ma'în:" 'Athtor of the East, 'Athtor Dhu Ḳabdh, Wadd, Nakaraḥ, and 'Athtor Dhu Yahraḳ. Of these the name of Wadd occurs in the Surah called Noah, LXXI, 22, and he is stated to have been a deity of the tribe of Kalb. Of the other divinities mentioned above we know nothing.

That Ma'în, the city in which these valuable inscriptions were discovered, is a place of great antiquity is proved by Al-Hamdânî, who, writing *circa* A.H. 300, remarks that his time it was in ruins and uninhabited.

M. Halévy has also brought to light the existence of another small kingdom, whose capital was the city (*hajar*) of Ḥarâm, the modern Medînet-Ḥarâm. Only the names of two of the kings are mentioned: Yadhmar-Malik and his son Watr-il Dharaḥ. The principal deity worshipped in Harâm appears to have been a goddess under the name of Matabinṭain.

The kingdom of Hadhramaut is once mentioned in the inscriptions of M. Halévy (No. 193), whose travels did not extend further to the eastward than Mârib. This was one of the largest and most powerful of the Himyarite principalities, and an apocryphal list of its kings (in which however we are able to perceive a fair glimmering of light) is preserved by Ibn Khaldûn. Its capital, Shabwat (*British Museum*, 6) has been identified by Osiander with (1) Sabota, the chief town of the Atramitæ of Pliny; (2) the Sanbatha of Ptolemy; (3) the Sabbatha of the *Periplus;* and (4) the Sabwah of the *Ḳâmûs*. To these may be added the Shabwah enumerated amongst the fortified towns of Hadhramaut by Al-Hamdânî.

We now come to the principal seat of the Himyarite monarchy, the kingdom of Sabâ, whose capital was originally Zhafâr, and subsequently Mârib, although the opposite is generally supposed to be the case. Setting aside, however, the mention of "Sephar a mount of the east," in the thirtieth verse of the tenth chapter of Genesis, we find from the inscriptions that the formal and official title of the rulers of this district was "Malik Sabâ wa Dhu Raidân," that is, king of the whole country of the Sabæans and of Zhafâr, the name of whose citadel or palace was Raidân, or Dhu-Raidân. As considerable misapprehension has hitherto existed in regard to this place, the ordinary opinion being, from the time of Salt downwards, that the name of Raidân represents a town in modern times called Raida, which is situated not far from San'â, I am glad to be able, with the help of Al-Hamdânî, to set the question finally at rest. It is true there is a town at the present day called Raida, the chief stronghold of the 'Asîrî tribe until its capture by the Turks last year, and there may be others in the country, but the Raidân of the

inscription is "the palace of the kingdom at Zhafâr" (قصر مملكة بظفار). It is frequently mentioned in the highest terms of eulogy by the royal poets, 'Alkama Dhu Yazan[1] and Asa'd Tobba'. The former says with reference to its lofty position:

و مصنعة بذي ريدان أسّت
با علي فرع متلعة حلوق

"The foundations of a tank were laid at Dhu Raidân
"Upon the loftiest pinnacle of a rock."

This cistern at Dhu Raidân is further described by 'Alkama as resembling the ancient edifices of 'Âd: "Kings," he says, "have despoiled it; but not a king from among them shall return."[2]

The following is a quotation from a long poem by Asa'd Tobba':

و ريدان قصري في ظفار و منزلي
بها أسّ جدّي دورنا و المناهلا
علي الجنّة الخضرا من ارض يحصب
ثمانون سداً تقذف الما سايلا

"And Raidân is my castle at Zhafâr and my mansion:
"In it my ancestor built our palaces and cisterns.
"Upon the green paradise of the land of Yaḥsab
"Eighty dams discharge their flowing waters."

[1] This 'Alkama must not be confounded with the more famous 'Alkama the son of 'Obda. The poet mentioned in the text was a son of one of the late Himyarite princes, and was killed in an engagement with the tribes of 'Abd-Menât and Kalb. For a specimen of ancient poetry composed to celebrate the prowess of the warrior bard on this occasion, see Schulten's "Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ," Lugd. 1740, p. 15. A few lines by the Himyarite king Asa'd Tobba' are also preserved in the same collection, p. 13. But the pages of Al-Hamdânî are filled to overflowing with the verses of these two præ-Islamite poets.

(2) ملوكٌ بريدان عطلوها
ما منهم مَلَكٌ يؤُبُ

He has also a punning allusion to the name of the city:

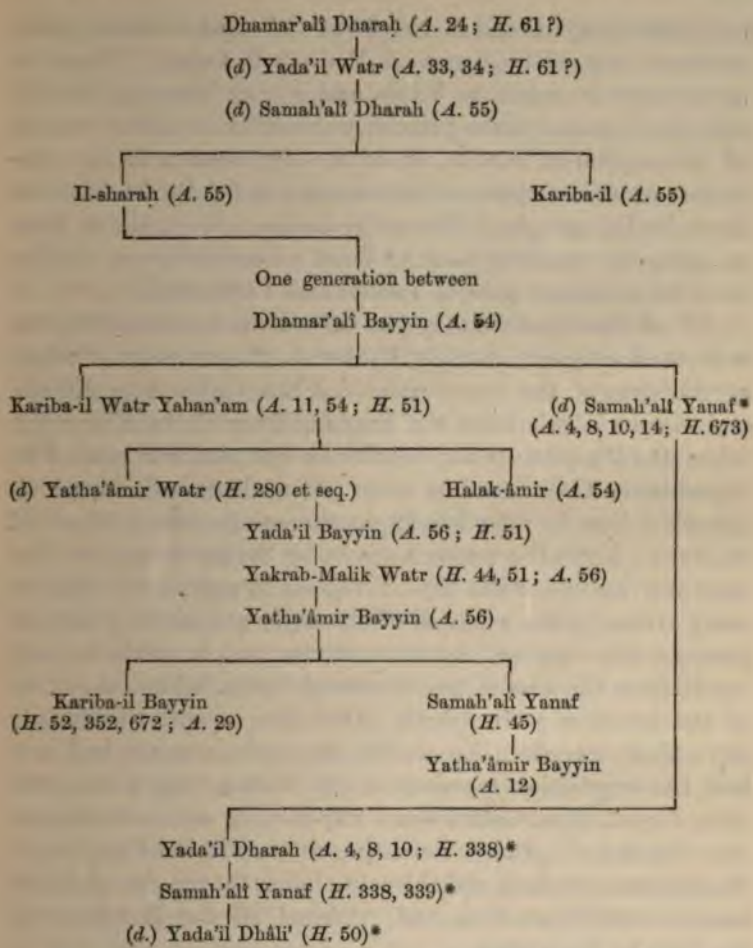
ظفرنا بمنزلنا من ظفار
و ما زال ساكنها يظفرُ

"We triumphed in our mansions at Zhafâr;
"Success always attends the dweller therein."

The palace appears to have been called indifferently Raidân and Dhu Raidân. 'Alkama prefers the latter form, and it may be remarked that the expression in the Axumite inscription **ΤΟΥ ΡΑΕΙΔΑΝ** is probably an exact representation in Greek characters of the name as commonly used. The title of the king may therefore be translated, not as "King of Sabâ and Lord of Raidân," according to Osiander, but as "King of Sabâ and Dhu-Raidân," *i.e.*, Zhafâr.

Another designation of these kings was "Makrab Sabâ." The exact meaning of the former word it is difficult to determine, but it probably springs from the root employed in the compounds *Tobba'-Kariba*, *Kariba-il*, *Yakrab-Malik*, which has the signification of *binding* and thence of *governing*. It would appear that this was the usual title of the younger sons of the reigning family, who were invested with the government of the various provinces into which the kingdom was divided.

I have endeavoured, by a careful examination of the inscriptions, to establish the succession of the kings whose names are recorded in them, and to assign a general date to the dynasty. The following list must, however, be considered purely tentative, and several links in the chain which are wanting are filled up conjecturally. Any succession which is not actually proved by the inscriptions is marked by the letter (*d*). A great source of difficulty is found in the practice of assigning a prince's descent through his grandfather, or still further back, instead of through his immediate ancestor.



These kings appear to have reigned between the years B.C. 80 and A.D. 120, the approximate date of the destruction of the Dyke of Mârib, when it is probable that city was deserted for San'â, whilst the greater number of the tribes migrated still further. From that event the decline of the Himyaritic empire must be dated.

In addition to the above, we find in the British Museum inscription (No. 33) Fâra'm Yanhab reigning jointly as king of Sabâ and Dhu Raidân, with his two sons, Il-Sharaḥ Yadhab

* *Makrab Saba.*

and Yätal Bayyin, and in No. 30 of the same series we come across a king of Sabâ named Wahaba-il Yaḥat. These inscriptions were found at Mârib, and it may hence be inferred that the reigns of these princes were anterior to the transfer of the capital to San'â. From the appearance of the characters on these stones, as represented in the British Museum facsimile lithographs, I should be inclined to ascribe to them an antiquity reaching back at least a hundred years further than the clean-cut slabs of Yada'il and Yatha'-âmir.

Of all these princes only two have been mentioned by the writers of antiquity, namely, Il-Sharaḥ, the sovereign of Mârib at the date of the expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia, and Kariba-il, who was the reigning king of the Homerites when the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* was written. The expedition of Gallus has been often described, but it is necessary here to refer briefly to the events which attended its close. From the account given by Strabo it appears that after the capture of the city of *Negrani* by assault, the Roman army arrived, after a march of six days, at a river, where its passage was opposed by the natives, and a battle ensued, resulting in the loss of ten thousand Arabs, whilst only two of the invaders were killed. After the capture of another city called *Athrulla*,[1] the capital, *Marsyaba*, was reached, and here the expedition terminated, for "after lying before the place for six days, Gallus was compelled by want of water to raise the siege." After a harassing return march of nine days, Negrani was reached, and the route being thence changed, the army embarked at *Nera*, and returned, *viâ* the Red Sea and the Nile, to Alexandria.

The terminal point of this expedition, which is called *Marsyaba* by Strabo, is usually supposed to be Mârib, the capital city of the Sabæans. Pliny, however, states that the Roman general passed by *Mariaba* (undoubtedly the 𐩨𐩺𐩧𐩣 *Maryab*, of the Inscriptions) and ended the expedition at *Caripeta*, which was identified by M. Fresnel (Journal Asiatique, IV serie, tome vi, p. 224) with Khariba, a city

[1] This place is called *Athlula* by Dion Cassius, and may possibly be the *Yathal* 𐩴𐩻𐩺 of M. Halévy's inscriptions, which is often found associated with *Ma'in*.

lying about a day's journey west of Mârib, where several of M. Arnaud's inscriptions were discovered. Had Caripeta been Khariba, then Mariaba must have been Mârib, for there is no doubt that the two cities mentioned by the Roman geographer were in close proximity to each other. Unfortunately for M. Fresnel's hypothesis, the word Khariba is used as a general term to denote the ruined cities of Yemen, the proper name of that so designated by M. Arnaud being, according to M. Halévy, Ṣirwaḥ.[1] As, however, Pliny makes mention of two Mariabas, one called Baramalchum (*the Sea of the Kings*) and the other Mariaba of the Calingii, it is quite possible that the Marsyaba of Strabo may have been a city situated to the north of the Sabæan Mârib, and inhabited by the descendants of Kahlân, traditionally said to be the son of Sabâ 'Abd-Shems. The province of Hamdân, which was under the government of the Himyarite princes, was peopled by the sons of Kahlân, and its geographical position in relation to Najrân, which is unquestionably Negrani (*Negara Metropolis* of Ptolemy) affords colourable grounds for believing that it was in some part of it that the expedition was brought to a termination.

However this may be, whether the Marsyaba of Strabo is the Mârib of the Dyke, or the Mârib of the Beni Kahlân, or whether these are one and the same place, as Caussin de Perceval would seem to think,[2] it is very plainly stated that this place at the date of the expedition, B.C. 24, was under the rule of a sovereign, the Greek rendering of whose name, Ἰλίσαρος, would be almost exactly represented by the Himyaritic designation Il-Sharaḥ. The conclusion I have arrived at therefore, is, that the reigning king of Sabâ in the year B.C. 24, is the monarch who recorded the votive inscription on the walls of the Ḥaram of Bilḳîs at Mârib (*A.* 55), and who was the son of Samah'alî Dharaḥ, and as I believe the ancestor of Kariba-il Watr Yahan'am. Caussin de Perceval was of opinion that the name of Ilisaros might be found in Dhu-l-Adhâr, the surname of Amr, a celebrated king in the

[1] This must not be confounded with the celebrated palace of Sirwah, of which a glowing description is given by Al-Hamdânî.

[2] See, with reference to the sons of Kahlân, and their possession of Mârib, Caussin de Perceval's Essai, tom. i, pp. 53, et seq., 74, 83.

Arab chronicles of Yemen, but I submit that it resembles more closely the name of that prince's successor, Sharaḥbîl or Alishraḥ, who, according to Ibn Hishâm, the author of the lost work, *At-tîjân*, was the first of the Himyarite kings to fix his residence at Mârib, and who probably constructed the Ḥaram of Bilkîs in that city. He has also the reputation of having erected the magnificent place of Ghomdân at San'â.

The author of the *Periplus* states that, at the time he compiled that work, the paramount sovereign of the Homerites and Sabæans was Charibaël, whose metropolis was Aphar, or Saphar, and that this was the prince whose friendship was coveted by the Roman emperors, and to whom they sent embassies and presents. It can scarcely be doubted this powerful prince is the one who is named in *A*. 54 Kariba-il Watr, Yehan'am (*the bestower of favour*), the king of Sabâ and Dhu-Raidân, *i.e*, Zhafâr. The date which we are to ascribe to the reign of this monarch must necessarily depend on that assigned to the *Periplus*, and this has never been accurately determined. Dean Vincent, in an acute and ingenious essay,[1] endeavours to show that the work must have been written about the 10th year of Nero, A.D. 69; others have fixed the date in the reign of Hadrian, or even as late as that of Severus. I shall not recapitulate the learned Dean's arguments; they have convinced me, though not complete in themselves; but shall merely adduce two other facts in support of them, one of which was presented to the world a very few years after the publication of the Essay, whilst the other has only lately been brought to light through the researches of a modern archæologist. In addition to these, a very strong inference to justify the same conclusion will be found from the date assigned by Caussin de Perceval, after much patient inquiry, to that king in his list whose name most nearly approximates to the Kariba-il of the Ḥaram.

1st. The author of the *Periplus* states that the name of the king whose territories extended from the country of the Moskophagi to Barbaria, or, as we should say now, from Suwâkin to the Somâli coast (Zaila'), was Zoskales. Accord-

[1] "The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," 1800, pt. i, p. 46.

ing to the chronology deduced from the Ethiopic annals, Za-hakale reigned between the year A.D. 76 and 99, or within a very few years of the date assigned to the *Periplus*.[1] The resemblance of the name of Za-hakale to that of Zoskales is too striking to be lightly passed over.

2nd. The *Periplus*, again, informs us that Leukê Komê was the place where the merchants landed to go to Petra, the residence of Malichas, the king of the Nabathæans; and that it was occupied by a Roman garrison. Dean Vincent has carefully examined this statement;[2] but in the whole series of Nabathæan kings he was unable to find a Malchus, or Malichas, whose reign could be ascribed to the reign of Nero. The Duc de Luynes, whilst opening wide a new path of numismatic research, has failed to assign a correct place in history to many of the Nabathæan princes recorded in his list. It is only within the last few years that these *lacunæ* have been satisfactorily filled up by the discoveries of the Comte de Vogüé, who has not only been enabled to establish from them certain doubtful points of filiation, but has found dates recorded in several of the inscriptions which set the question of chronology finally at rest. It will suffice to say, that the king whose name was so anxiously desired by Dean Vincent, Malchus or Malichas, the son of Aretas, is ascertained to have had a distinct existence, and that he reigned between the years A.D. 40 and 75. His son Dabel or Zabelus was the last of the independent Nabathæan kings, and it would appear therefore to be quite out of the question that any monarch of that race could have reigned at Petra so late as the time of Septimius Severus, or even of Hadrian.[3]

3rd. The only prince recorded in the Arab annals whose name approaches that of Kariba-il Yahan'am is Yasir Yan'am, whose surname is identical with that of the king of the inscriptions, and whose reign, according to Caussin de Perceval, must have occurred soon after the Christian era. The authorities cited by the same writer inform us that the reigns of two princes, Hodhâd and Bilḳîs, intervened

[1] Salt's Voyage to Abyssinia, 1814, p. 463.
[2] Vincent's "Periplus," 1805, pt. ii, p. 244.
[3] Revue Numismatique, 1868, pp. 153, et seq.

between those of Sharaḥbîl or Alyshraḥ and Yasir Yan'am. These, according to the series of kings deduced from the inscriptions, would be Dhamar'alî Bayyin and his father the son of Il-Sharaḥ, of whom we have no record. The fact that the name of Bilḳîs has been foisted into the place which should be more properly occupied by Dhamar'alî may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the prince, in conjunction with his son Kariba-il, was the chief restorer of the glory of the Ḥaram, which was traditionally founded by the Queen of Sheba. The anxiety of the Arab historians to find a place in their annals for this princess, who must have existed long before the amalgamation of the two principal races of South Arabia, has been often remarked on as forming the principal bar to the accuracy of their relations, which in no instance extend further back than the Ḳaḥṭanide incursion.

Of the successors of Kariba-il Watr, the only princes whose names resemble those in the Arab list of kings, are Yakrab-Malik and Samah'alî Yanaf. In these may be traced a likeness to Kolaï-Kariba, or, as Al-Jannâbî writes the name, Molaik-Yakrab, and to the predecessor of Dhu-Nowâs, Al-khanîa Yanouf. The former of these princes reigned, however, at a later date than we can assign to the third successor of Kariba-il, whilst in the latter's time the progress of Judaism and Christianity had probably put an end to the practice of tutelary dedication to the old gods of Sabâ.

The discoveries of M. Halévy do not appear to throw any new light upon the religious worship of the Sabæans. The principal of their deities were: Il-Maḳah, 'Athtor, Haubas, Shems or Shamas, and Dhu Samâwî, males: Dhât Ḥamîm and Dhât Ba'dân, females. Nasr, one of the five gods worshipped by the ancient Arabs to whom reference is made by Mohammed,[1] is said by the commentators to have been

و قالوا لا تذرن الهتكم و لا تذرن ودّاً و لا (1)
سُواعًا و لا يغوثَ و يعوق و نسراً

Noah LXXI, 22.—"And they said, Forsake not your gods; and especially forsake not Wadd, and Suwa', and Yaghûth, and Ya'ûḳ, and Nasr," that is, the gods of the tribes of Kalb, Hamdân, Madḥaj, Murâd, and Himyar.

par excellence the god of Himyar, and his name in a two-fold aspect is found in the following inscription, which was lately brought into Aden in a very perfect condition:—

Of the chronology of the Himyarites we know nothing. Only two dates, so far as I am aware, have been discovered up to the present time, and, as remarked above, these would appear to be referable to the Æra of the Ḳaḥṭanide Sabæans, or about the year B.C. 700. On this hypothesis the date of the inscription of Ḥisn Ghorâb would be B.C. 60; that of *A.* 3 (*H.* 3) would be B.C. 127. The numerals employed in the inscriptions were undoubtedly introduced by the Ḳaḥṭanides; they are pure Semitic, every one of them, and up to ten would appear to have had masculine and feminine inflections like the Ethiopic and Arabic. After twenty the tens were formed by the addition of 𐩺 (or as a dialectic variety 𐩺𐩠) to the feminine units, as 𐩱𐩧𐩨𐩲, *four*, 𐩱𐩧𐩨𐩲𐩺 or 𐩱𐩧𐩨𐩲𐩠𐩺 *forty*, 𐩪𐩨𐩲 *seven*, 𐩪𐩨𐩲𐩺 *seventy*. A hundred was 𐩣𐩱𐩩𐩣 or 𐩣𐩱𐩩, a thousand 𐩱𐩡𐩰, whilst the intervening centuries were formed by the addition of the unit in the feminine form, as in Arabic

the Ethiopic preferring the masculine), *e.g.* (*A.* 3) (Ḥisn Ghorâb). The characters employed for notation appear to have been exceedingly simple; a perpendicular stroke [|] representing one, two strokes [||] two, and so up to five, which was represented by [ ], the first letter of the word *five.* To form six, a stroke was added to five [ ], two strokes for seven, &c., up to ten [ ], the first letter of , *ten.* Between ten and twenty this sign was added to those representing the units, as [ ] *seventeen.* Twenty to fifty were distinguished by the sign [ ] being doubled, tripled, and quadrupled; [ ] for represented fifty, and the series was similarly carried on by tens to one hundred [ ]. The only exception I find to this is in *H.* 466, there [ ] would seem to stand for eighty, which in the dialect of the inscription is .

Of the Sabæan year ( ) we know nothing except that it was divided into lunar months ( ) and days ( ). We find no mention of weeks in the inscriptions, although an ancient Arabic historian, Aḥmed ibn Ya'ḳûb al-'Abbâsî, has preserved a distich[1] which is said to give the names of the various days. These are, Awwal, Ahûn, Ḥubâr, Dubâr, Mûnas, 'Arûba, and Shabâr, proceeding from Sunday onwards.

Before parting with M. Halévy, it must be mentioned that the publication of his inscriptions has enabled us to discover

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(1) أومل ان اعيش و ان يومي
باول او باهون او حبار
او التالي دبار فان افته
فمونس او عروبة او شبار

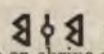
"I hope that I may remain alive and that my day (*i.e.* the day of my death) may be on Awwal, or on Ahûn, or Ḥubâr, or on the following Dubâr, and if I pass that, may it be on Mûnas, or 'Arûba, or Shabâr," (or, in other words, not to-day).

the existence of several forgeries which have been lately perpetrated in a clever manner by a Jewish coppersmith at San'â, with whom the traveller lodged during his residence in that town, and who by some means or other was able to take copies of several fragments, All these forged tablets were executed in brass, and some of them have found their way to the British Museum (compare *H.* 154, 424, 465, 499, 477). Outwardly these tablets appear to have undergone the wear and tear of ages, and the most careful examination would fail to detect in them the marks of the forger's hand. It is only when a search is made into the meaning of the inscriptions that suspicion arises, although, until the publication of M. Halévy's collection set the matter at rest, the inquirer would fain have attributed his failure to his own ignorance rather than to the deception printed on the bronze.

The printing of the inscriptions is defective and calculated to mislead. It was the practice of the Sabæans to employ square slabs of sandstone for the purpose of record, &c., several of these being affixed to the edifice of which they were to form the memorial, and the inscription being continued from one to another, sometimes laterally and sometimes perpendicularly. Specimens of these may be seen in Halévy's inscriptions from Kharibat-Sa'ûd, Nos. 628 to 632, which are printed as if complete in themselves, instead of being portions of boustrophedon inscriptions copied in a perpendicular line, the corresponding slabs to the right or left being wanting. No. 631 affords a good instance of what I mean, whilst the peculiar construction of the square-built buttresses referred to above is proved by the fact of several slabs which served to compose them (and, among others, some of those at Kharibat Sa'ûd) having been brought into Aden and carefully examined.

In the preceding pages no attempt has been made to treat the subject of M. Halévy's inscriptions in their philological aspect, but simply to inquire what, at a superficial view, may be their historical value, in connection with the other materials which we have at our disposal. At the present stage of Himyaritic inquiry we are little better than men groping in a dark room, thankful if an occasional ray of

light reaches us through a chink in the walls; but we have learned one thing, and that is to discard utterly the narratives of the old Arab writers, which for historical purposes are by themselves valueless, and which bear the same relation to the contemporaneous records on bronze or marble as a coin of Tasciovanus does to the romances of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geographically the case is different, and a fair appreciation of the ancient aspect of the country may be gained from the pages of Al-Hamdânî, who united the functions of an accurate topographer to those of a collector of folk-lore, or, in other words, the wild legends which lingered in his native Yemen for centuries after the voice of Ḥimyar had been lost in the war-cry of Ḳoraish. The few echoes which now remain must be sought for in the fastnesses of Mahrah and the valleys of Socotra,[1] and thither we would direct the inquirer.

[1] It is interesting to find that the word  (makâm), the usual term employed by the Himyarites for the *statio* or shrine of a divinity, was carried by their Christian descendants to Socotra, and was there used to designate a church up to the middle of the seventeenth century. Father Vincenzo describes the churches, which he calls *Moquame*, as dark, low, dirty, and daily anointed with butter. (See Yule's Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 344).

[NOTE.—Since the above was written, I have received a copy of the Journal Asiatique for June last, in which M. Halévy's translations of the inscriptions discovered by him have been published. These translations do not profess to be more than tentative, and their incompleteness scarcely allows of criticism. In the case of only one inscription (No. 257) has any attempt been made to give a detailed analysis of the text, and it cannot be said that this has done much towards clearing away difficulties of interpretation.]

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

While these pages were passing through the press, I have been shown at the British Museum an undoubted Himyaritic coin, which has been in that collection for the last forty years.

On one side is a ringletted head; on the other a smaller head surrounded by the inscription [illegible] which I translate as *'Amdân Bayyin, the possessor (ḳanî) of Raidân.* The word *ḳanî* is found as a monogram, thus [illegible] and I think it very probable that the word which I have read as Yanaf on another coin (see page 6) may be a worn impression of the same monogram. There is another monogram on the coin which I am unable to decypher. The whole of the inscription is perfectly legible, and there cannot be a doubt of its Himyaric origin.

I take this opportunity of mentioning, that not long ago a mutilated limestone slab was brought into Aden with the following inscription engraved upon it:—

It would appear from this that the father of Dhamar 'alî Dharaḥ (see page 13) was called Kariba-il.

July, 1873.

APPENDIX.

The following Inscriptions have been recently discovered by the writer of the preceding paper. The first four are tutelary dedications to *Tālab* 𐩨𐩡𐩱𐩩, a divinity whose name does not appear on any other monuments, but who was probably worshipped in the country of Hamdân, the birth-place of the Historian. The inscriptions on bronze should be received with some caution, but full reliance may be placed upon the authenticity of the stone tablets.

I.—Bronze Tablet.

II.—Bronze Tablet.

III.—Bronze Tablet.

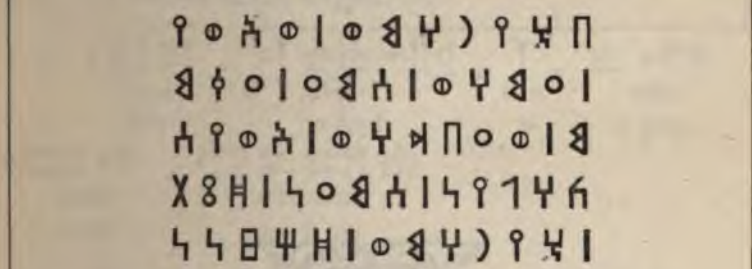
IV.—Limestone Slab.

V.—Bronze Tablet.

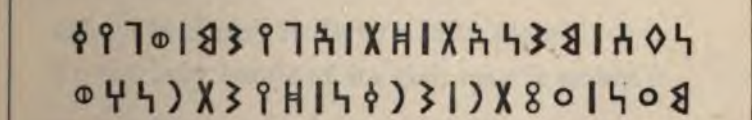
VI.—Limestone Frustum of a Pyramid.
(In the British Museum.)

VII.—Limestone Slab.

VIII.—Limestone Slab.



IX.—Limestone Mortuary Inscription.



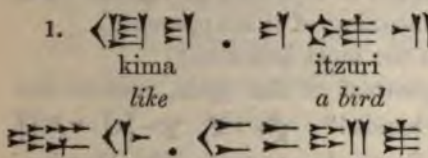
X.—Bronze Tablet.

ON THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE ASSYRIANS. No. II.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

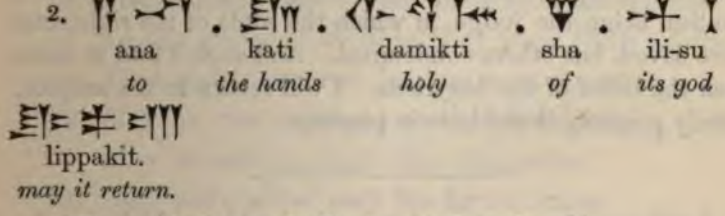
Read 5th November, 1872.

In my former paper on this subject I showed, as I think for the first time, that the Assyrians believed in the immortality of the soul. I have since found numerous proofs of it. Many of the tablets in the British Museum contain allusions to it as a belief established and unquestionable. For instance —a man is seized with a mortal sickness, and dies—"*May his soul fly up to heaven!*" This short prayer, or ejaculation, stands as follows in the original:—

1. 

kima	itzuri	ana	ashri
like	*a bird*	*to*	*a place*

rapsi	lattaprash
lofty	*may it fly.*

2. 

ana	kati	damikti	sha	ili-su
to	*the hands*	*holy*	*of*	*its god*

lippakit.
may it return.

Like a bird may it fly to a lofty place!
To the holy hands of its god, may it return!

An Accadian version follows, with the same meaning. I may observe that *rapsi* (lofty) is the usual epithet of Heaven;

lattaprash is the optative of the T conjugation of *parash* 'to fly,' a verb of frequent occurrence.

On another tablet the dying spirit is restored to life by the gods. First, a prayer to Ishtar. May the great goddess *mubulladdat miti*, she who turns death into life [receive him in her hands].—The Accadian version agrees, *Tin Durga:* for, in Accadian, *Tin* signifies Life, and *Durga* Death.

Then, a prayer to Marduk, "And thou O Marduk lord of mercy, who raisest? death to life. *Atta Marduk bil rimnu sha miti bulluda irammu*, written *miti* (death) *bulluda* (life).—The Accadian has *Durga Tila* substituting *Tila* (life) for *Tin* of the former passage. Both words are equally common. Then follows, *lilil, libib, limmir* "may it (the soul) ascend, soar high, and shine!" This phrase is repeated on various other tablets, so that the *general* meaning of it is apparent.

The last line however is the most important:

"And may the Sun, greatest of the gods, receive the saved soul into his holy hands!" *Salmut-zu*, 'his saved soul,' from *salam* to save. The Accadian has which is almost always the translation of the Assyrian *salam*. Manifestly this passage implies a judgment, the Sun being the judge, in which the souls of the righteous were saved, but others condemned. And such I find to have been the belief of the Assyrians. I will return to the subject, merely pointing it out here in passing.

I will consider next an interesting tablet, which may be entitled

THE DEATH OF THE RIGHTEOUS MAN.

It is highly imaginative, and the meaning of some words being still unknown I cannot represent it by a continuous

translation. It begins I think by saying that heaven and earth sympathised with the sufferings of the sick man.

1. Tempest in heaven, lightning on earth, are raging.
2. Of the brave man who was so strong, his strength has departed.
3. Of the righteous servant, the force does not return.
4. In his bodily frame he lies dangerously ill.
5. But Ishtar smiles upon him with a placid smile,
6. And comes down from her mountain, unvisited of men.
7. At the door of the sick man she speaks.
8. The sick man turns his head:
9. Who is there? Who comes?
10. It is Ishtar, daughter of the moon-god Sin:
11. It is the god (.....) son of Bel:
12. It is Marduk, son of the god (....).
13. They approach the body of the sick man.

(*The next line* 14 *is nearly destroyed*)

15. They bring a *khisibta* (jewel?) from their heavenly treasury:
16. They bring a *sisbu* from their lofty storehouse:
17. To the precious *khisibta* they pour forth a hymn.
18. That righteous man let him now depart!
19. May he rise as bright as that *khisibta!*
20. May he soar on high like that *sisbu!*
21. Like pure silver may his figure shine!
22. Like brass may it be radiant!
23. To the Sun, greatest of the gods, may it return!
24. And may the Sun, greatest of the gods, receive the saved soul into his holy hands!

The words used in the last line are the same as in the former instance. *Salmut-zu*, 'his saved soul,' with the same Accadian translation *Dima*. I will give the original text of the whole in an Appendix (No. I) to this paper.

Another word for 'a saved soul' was *Sulmi*, derived from the same verb *salam* to save. The Accadian translates it as before by *Dima*. An example will be found on a tablet which the British Museum published some years ago (Rawlinson's Inscriptions, vol. 2, plate 18, col. ii, 54). The sick man is visited and comforted by the gods. Then we read as follows:

1. The departed? man may he be in glory!
2. May his soul shine radiant as brass!
3. To that man
4. May the Sun give life!
5. And Marduk, eldest son of heaven
6. Grant him an abode of happiness!

See the original text in the Appendix (No. II).

They seem to have imagined the Soul like a bird with shining wings rising to the skies. It is curious that they considered polished brass to be more beautiful than gold. A modern poet would have written differently.

This point then seems fully proved — that the Sun received the spirits of just men into a heavenly abode of happiness.

But in fact I might have dispensed with all these proofs, and relied upon this single fact namely that the great title of the Sun was "the Judge of Men."—For, as it is certain that men are not always judged in this world according to their merits, but that the wicked often remain prosperous to the end, the belief of the Assyrian must have been that there was a judgment after death. The Egyptians had the same belief—that the actions of men would be judged by Osiris: the good deeds against the evil weighed in a balance, and sentence pronounced accordingly.

The great name of the Sun in Assyrian theology was [illegible] *Daian-nisi* or *Dian-nisi* which means "the Judge of Men." Some years ago I ventured to affirm that this name is the same with the *Dionysus* of the Greeks.[1] All know that the worship of Dionysus was derived from the East—in very ancient times, for he is mentioned by Homer. In the early mythologies the name of Dionysus signified the Sun, for Herodotus says (iii, 8) that the only god worshipped by the Arabians was Dionysus: now it is certain that the Arabians worshipped the Sun, and the Assyrian records confirm this by saying that tribute was brought by the Queen of the Arabians, who used to worship the Sun. Osiris and Dionysus were the same, according to the judgment of Plutarch (Isis et Osiris, cap. 28). And he quotes from Heraclitus that Dionysus was Hades. But Hades, or Pluto, was fabled to be the judge of departed souls.

I will give some examples of the word *Dian* or *Daian* 'a judge,' which is evidently the Hebrew דין *judex*.

Nebuchadnezzar says in his great inscription iv, 29

1. [illegible]

Ana	Shems	Dainu	tsiri
To	*the Sun*	*the Judge*	*supreme*

2. [illegible]

Bit	Dian-nisi	bit-zu
the temple of	*Dianisi,*	*his temple,*

3. in Babilim
   in Babylon

4. in kupri u agurri
   in bitumen and bricks

5. shakish ebus
   grandly I built.

[1] See my paper in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. 8, p. 297.

Here it is to be observed that 𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 is the Accadian or ancient Babylonian word for 'men,' which is *nisi* in Assyrian. It occurs very frequently on the tablets.

Another spelling of *Dian-nisi* is 𒀭𒁹𒁺𒁺 𒄀𒄀 . 𒌋𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹 which has the same meaning "judge of men." This title of the Sun was not so much a mere title as an actual name. In proof of which I can point to a tablet (163 *a* and *b*, otherwise marked as 204) where no less than forty-eight short phrases or epithets of honour are all explained to mean the god 𒀭𒁹𒁺𒁺 𒄀𒄀 just as the φοιβος of the Greeks, though originally only an epithet of the Sun (*brilliant* or *fiery*) became at a later period his proper name.

In the annals of Ashurakhbal (R 18, 44) the king says: "At the beginning of my reign I sat proudly on my royal throne, holding my sceptre in my hand, &c. &c. And they held over me the umbrella of state, dedicated to the Sun" —whose name is thus written 𒌋𒀭 𒀭 . 𒀭𒁹𒁺𒁺 𒄀𒄀 . 𒌋𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *Shamas dian-nisi.*

Another example from the Michaux stone (R 70, col. iii, 15). Whoever destroys this tablet, may the Sun the great judge of heaven and earth, condemn him!

1.	𒌋𒀭 𒁹 .	𒀭𒁹𒁺𒁺 𒄀𒄀 .	𒁹𒁹𒁹 .	𒌋𒀭 𒁹𒁹𒁹 .	𒀭 .	𒀭𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒄀𒁹𒁹
	Shems	Daian	rabu	shamie	u	kiti
	Sun	*judge*	*great*	*of heaven*	*and*	*earth*

2. lu-din din-su.
judge him with judgment.

The Sun has also the epithet "Destroyer of the Wicked," which I think must relate to a future judgment.

To resume.—Since the Assyrians believed in a judgment after death, it follows that the immortality of the soul was an established doctrine of their religion.

II.

Mysteries of the Assyrian Religion.

An immense multitude of gods are found in the Assyrian Pantheon, but only a few of these appear to have been

worshipped with real fervour. Amidst the chaos of names a feeling of the real unity of the divine nature is visible. The phrase 'God and man' sometimes occurs. 'God and the King' is very frequent. No particular god is here named or intended, but the word [illegible] is put absolutely, like the Greek *το Θειον*, and may be translated either 'god' or 'heaven.' But besides their open and popular worship, the Assyrians had *mysteries*, as the Greeks and Egyptians had. The Egyptian mysteries of Isis and Osiris, and the Eleusinian mysteries of Ceres are well known. They probably produced a profound effect upon the imagination even of those who were indifferent to the ordinary religion. Horace, who was *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens* probably cared little if he heard one of his friends scoffing at the gods; but he would not embark in the same ship nor sleep under the same roof with a man

> .... *qui Cereris sacrum*
> *Vulgarit arcanæ* ....

The tablets in the British Museum are often very difficult to understand. This arises partly from their broken and mutilated state, which continually interrupts the reader. Very often, when an explanation of the meaning appears to be coming, it is broken off, and so the part which remains and can be deciphered is nearly useless. Hence, only an imperfect account can be given at present of many branches of Assyrian learning. Enough is said in these records to excite our curiosity, but not enough to give accurate knowledge.

I will however point out a class of tablets to which inquiry may be usefully directed, as being likely to lead us to some knowledge of the more esoteric doctrines of the Assyrian religion.

These tablets speak with awe and veneration of a certain object which they name the *Mamit*. In Assyrian it is written [illegible] *Mamitu*, or [illegible] *Mamit*. The Accadian has two names for it, viz. [illegible] which I propose to read *Nambaru*, and [illegible] or *Sakba*. The first and primary meaning of *Mamitu* seems to be an Oath: not an

ordinary oath, but a solemn one invoking the gods to witness. In this sense it is used by Tiglath-Pileser (v. 11) who says: 'I pardoned the kings of the Nahiri for their rebellion, but I made them swear an oath by the great gods, to do faithful service to me in future.' *Mamit ili rabi ana arkat tami, ana tamu zati, ana ardutti utami sunuti.* Here *Mamit* is written [illegible], but in 2 R 65, 4 it is [illegible] *mamitu.*

In still earlier times we find that the kings of Assyria and Babylonia bound themselves by a solemn oath to keep the peace towards each other (see 2 R 65, 4): *mamitu ana akhati iddinu*, 'an oath to each other they gave.' The etymology of the word is probably to be found in the verb ימא *jurare*, whence comes the Chaldee and Syriac מומתא *juramentum*, which is almost exactly the Assyrian *mamita.* It occurs frequently in the Syriac New Testament, *ex. gr.* Matth. v, 33, 'thou shalt perform unto the Lord *thine oaths.*'

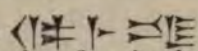
It has always been the custom, in order to add solemnity to an oath, to swear it in the presence of the most sacred objects, touching them, kissing them, or at any rate invoking them as witnesses. Thus, even in England, the custom remains to this day of kissing the Bible, when an oath is taken.

As a natural consequence, the oath itself and the sacred object on which it was sworn, obtained in course of time the same name. Thus, in Greece *ὅρκος* meant 'an oath,' and also 'the object by which one swears; the witness of an oath,' as the Styx among the gods, *Στυγος ὑδωρ, ὁς τε μεγιστος Ὅρκος δεινοτατος τε πελει μακαρεσσι Θεοισι.* (see Liddell and Scott's lex.). And thus also in Assyria, *Mamitu* evidently became the name of that holy object *in whose presence* an oath was taken.

Now, what was the nature of this most venerated object? for that such it was, will appear in the sequel. This is a very difficult question. It appears to be something which came down from heaven, if we may judge from the two following lines, which are consecutive, and seem to correspond in meaning, and to imply the same object. Unluckily the ends of both lines are fractured.

1. Salmitu ultu kireb abzi it.....
Salvation from the midst of the heavenly abyss descended?

2. Mamitu ultu kireb shamie ur.....
Mamitu from the midst of heaven descended?

I think we may safely translate  *Salmitu* by 'Salvation,' and these two lines therefore imply that in the *mamitu* was salvation. The word *abyss* or *heavenly ocean* is used continually in the same sense as heaven itself.

This makes one think of the *Ancile* which fell from heaven in the reign of Numa, and upon the safe preservation of which the safety of the Roman empire depended.

The Palladium of Troy also fell down from heaven, and was accounted to be the *salvation* of the city; for, when it was lost, the kingdom of Priam was overthrown.

A similar wonder was preserved at Ephesus. We read in the Acts of the Apostles (xix, 35) "Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, *and of the image which fell down from Jupiter?*"

Again, at Pessinus in Phrygia was the heaven-fallen image of the great goddess Cybele. These objects of worship are supposed by many to have been aerolites or meteoric stones, a hypothesis which has great probability.

But was the *Mamitu* of the Assyrians a Palladium of this kind? This is doubtful: for documents of another kind have to be taken into consideration.

I return to the etymology of the word *Mamitu*. Syriac מומתא *juramentum* or *sacramentum*. This latter word appears to me to present a close analogy to the Assyrian *mamitu*. I will therefore consider (1) its *primitive* meaning in classical Latin, (2) its *transitional* meaning in the works of the Fathers of the Church, (3) its meaning in later times.

1. In the classical authors *sacramentum* meant 'an oath.'

Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum ..... (Hor.)

Ætate fessos sacramento solvere, to absolve the old soldiers from their oath. (Tacitus).

Ne primi sacramenti memoriam deponerent, he prayed the soldiers not to forget their first oath. (Cæsar).

2. In the Fathers of the Church the transitional sense is seen. Arnobius: 'Fidem rumpere Christianam et salutaris militiæ *sacramentum* deponere,' likening the Christian oath 'to be true to the faith,' to the pagan soldier's oath 'to be true to his leader and his standard.' Jerome says: 'Remember thy baptism, when, in *sacramenti* verba jurasti.' Hence arose the phrase 'the *sacrament* of baptism.' So also Tertullian says of baptism, 'Cum in *sacramenti* verba respondimus, vocati sumus *ad militiam* Dei.' Elsewhere he uses the expressions, 'in baptismatis *sacramento*,' and 'admittere ad *sacramenta* baptismatis et eucharistiæ.'

But soon the word *Sacramentum* acquired the meaning of *Mysterium*. Jerome: 'The Veil is torn down, and all the *sacramenta* (mysteries) of the law which formerly were hidden now are exposed to view.' Fulgentius: 'Redemptionis mysterium, *vel sacramentum*.' Jerome: 'Crucis sacramentum.'

3. In more recent times the word *sacrament* has tended more and more to denote '*the holy Eucharist*,' especially in Roman Catholic countries. No longer a solemn feeling of the mind only, but a visible tangible object of adoration. The Dictionnaire de l'Académie says: 'le Saint Sacrement est l'Eucharistie. On dit: le voiler: l'exposer: le porter aux malades.' The most solemn oaths were sometimes taken upon it; a curious trace of which remains in the English language, for I may state on the authority of Paley that the phrase 'a corporal oath' meant an oath on the *corporale* or linen cloth surrounding the *corpus domini* or sacred host.[1]

My argument, as no doubt the reader will have perceived, is that the Assyrian word *Mamitu* passed through somewhat similar shades of meaning. At first only a solemn oath, it became a Mystery—of what nature I cannot guess. But who knows what the Orphic mysteries were? The passages

[1] Du Fresne. *Corporale* palla est, quâ *Sacrificium* contegitur in altari. *Sindon quam solemus Corporale nominare* (Almarius de Eccles. offic. c. 19). *Corporale pallium* in a letter of St. Boniface. But Du Fresne differs as to *Corporale juramentum*, which, he says, præstatur protensâ manu, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis, Cruce Dominicâ vel sanctorum reliquiis admotis.

which I am about to adduce from the Assyrian tablets will show, I think, that had it been delivered by Orpheus himself the *Mamit* could not have been regarded with more profound veneration.

The first is a Hymn to the *Mamit*, which begins thus:

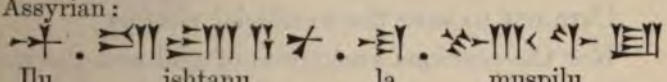
1. Mamit! Mamit! Treasure which passeth not away!
2. Treasure of the gods, which departeth not!
3. Treasure of heaven and earth, which shall not be removed!
4. The one god who never fails!
5. God and man are unable to explain it!

The Accadian version of the hymn begins similarly: *Sakba! Sakba! jewel not departing*, &c. &c. From these remarkable but mysterious lines we see that the *Mamit* was accounted to be divine—nay more—it was the only god.

How this is to be explained I know not. Did the learned men of Babylonia perceive the falsehood of the popular religion? Were they convinced of the unity of the Divine Nature?

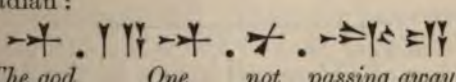
Fortunately the two texts, Assyrian and Accadian, are so very clear that it is impossible to doubt their meaning for a moment. And they both give the same meaning.

I. Assyrian:



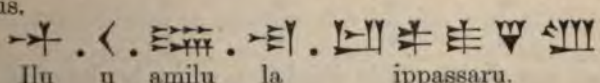
Ilu	ishtanu	la	muspilu.
The god	*One*	*not*	*failing.*

II. Accadian:



The god	*One*	*not*	*passing away.*

Let us proceed to the next line, which is equally mysterious.



Ilu	u	amilu	la	ippassaru.
God	*and*	*man*	*not*	*can explain.*

The Chaldee verb *Pasar* פשר to explain or interpret, is so common in Assyrian that I do not see what other translation can be given. I am not, indeed, well satisfied with it: but perhaps the Scribe meant to be mysterious.

Let us now pass on to another tablet, which is quite different in nature, and yet leads us to the same conclusion that the *Mamit* was something of indescribable value. It is a hymn or chant in six stanzas, each of which, except the first, consists of ten lines. Each stanza terminates with the same burthen or *réfrain*—in honour of the *Mamit*. It was apparently sung or chanted in one of the temples.

It is difficult to understand, but I think its general meaning is as follows:

"Supposing this Temple were to take fire and be consumed, in that day of danger what should a man do? What should he try to save?"

The stanzas give an answer to the question. At the commencement of each stanza, the priest apparently threw a log of wood (each time of a different kind) upon the flames of the altar, and as it consumed he sung as follows:

As this log of [*Cedar*] blazes in the fire
And the burning fire consumes it

* * * *
* * * *

Care not to save the sacrificial victims
Nor the precious vestments of god and the king!
In that day, let the fire burn on,
But save the Mamit! place it in safety!

As this log of [*Cypress*] blazes in the fire
And the burning fire consumes it

* * * *
* * * *

Care not for the title deeds? nor the books of affairs?
Regard not the [*nabdan*] of god and the king!

In that day, let the fire burn on,
But save the Mamit! place it in safety!

As this log of [*pine wood*] blazes in the fire
And the burning fire consumes it

* * * *

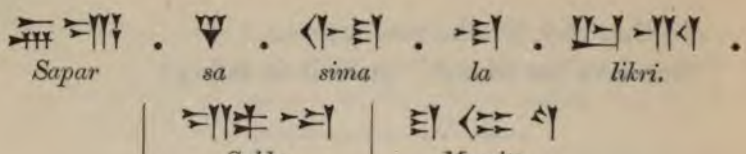
* * * *

Care not to save the newly-written books
Nor the golden vessels of god and the king!
In that day, let the fire burn on,
But save the Mamit! place it in safety!

And so on, for the other stanzas. Various precious objects are named (some of unknown meaning) but each stanza ends with, "Care not for them! Think not of them! but save the Mamit! place it in safety!" If this song was sung by a chorus of voices, the intention may have been to impress upon the minds of all the paramount value of this mysterious treasure, so that in case of danger its safe removal should be the first thought of all. There are four lines in each stanza which I have not translated, not being sure of the meaning.

In other tablets the *Mamit* is brought to the bedside of a sick man. Evil spirits are driven away by it, and it is said "they shall never return." There are numerous other scattered notices, which it would be well to collect and compare together.

I have omitted to mention the following gloss (2 R 10, 23) which was published some years ago, but has not been noticed by Assyrian scholars. It confirms the foregoing arguments.

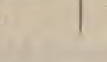
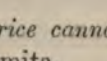


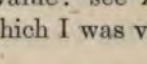
Sapar . *sa* . *sima* . *la* . *likri.*

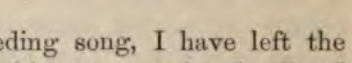
Sakba | *Mamita*

which I take to mean

"*The jewel whose price cannot be valued*" is the Sakba otherwise called the Mamita.

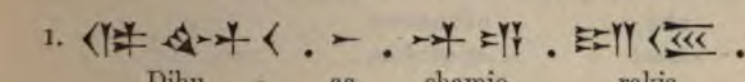
Sapar, 'jewel.' שפרה. — *Sima*, 'price.'  or  see 2 R 13, 46. *Likri* 'can be valued,' the opt. or potential mood of יקר 'to value:' see Zechariah xi, 13. יקר אשר יקרתי 'the price at which I was valued.'

In my version of the preceding song, I have left the phrase '*nabdan* of god and the king,' untranslated. But I have little doubt that *nabdan*  means 'musical instruments,' being the plural of *nabd*. Compare the Arab *nobat* (music), whence *nobāti* 'a musician',—see Catafago's dictionary. And Richardson (p. 1608) has *nobat-khanah* or *nobat-gah* 'a music-gallery.'

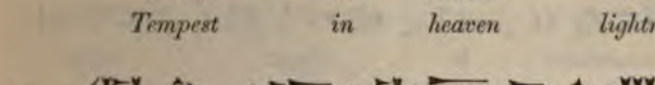
Another example of the word occurs on the obelisk (l. 70), where the King says that he reached with his army the source of the Tigris, *ashar mutzû sha mie saknu*, 'where the fountains of its waters are situate.' Great rejoicings followed. The king erected a statue of himself, with an inscription relating his heroic deeds. He then adds: 'I made joyful music,' *nabdan khudut askun*  .

Appendix No. 1.

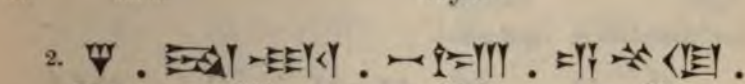
The cuneiform text of the inscription which I have called "the death of the righteous man" is as follows:—

1. 

Dihu	as	shamie	rakis
Tempest	*in*	*heaven*	*lightning*

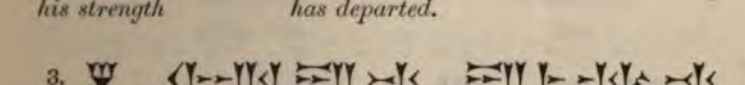


as	kiti	innassikh.
on	*earth*	*rages.*

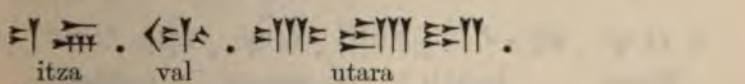
2. 

Sha	itli	bil	emuki
Of	*the brave man*	*master*	*of strength,*

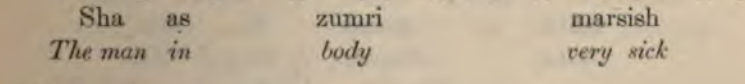
emuki-su	itatti
his strength	*has departed.*

3. 

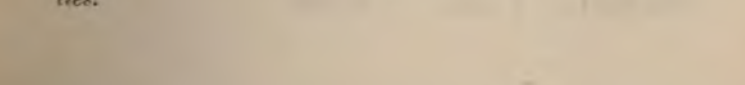
Sha	ardati	damikti
Of	*the servant*	*righteous,*



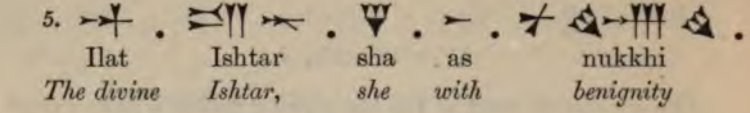
itza	val	utara
his force	*not*	*returns.*

4. 

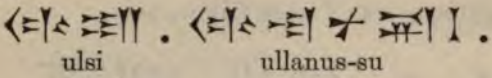
Sha	as	zumri	marsish
The man	*in*	*body*	*very sick*



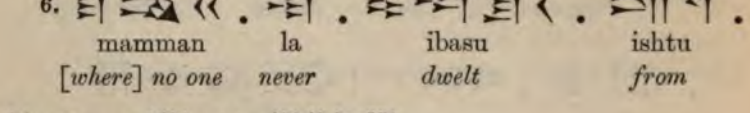
saknu
lies.

5. 

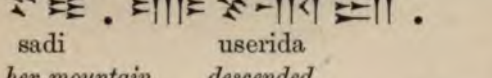
Ilat	Ishtar	sha	as	nukkhi
The divine	*Ishtar,*	*she*	*with*	*benignity*



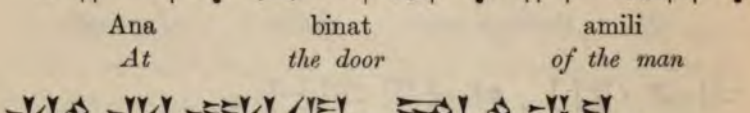
ulsi	ullanus-su
smiled	*upon him,*

6. 

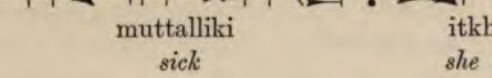
mamman	la	ibasu	ishtu
[*where*] *no one*	*never*	*dwelt*	*from*



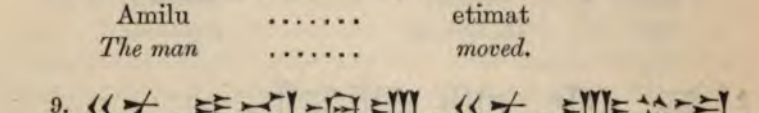
sadi	userida
her mountain	*descended.*

7. 

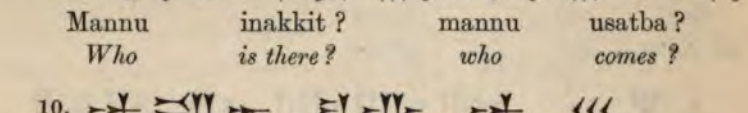
Ana	binat	amili
At	*the door*	*of the man*



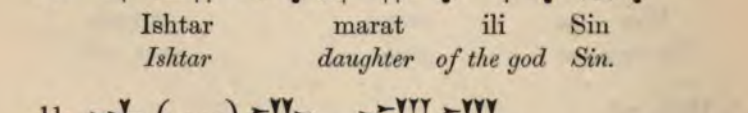
muttalliki	itkhi-ma
sick	*she spoke.*

8. 

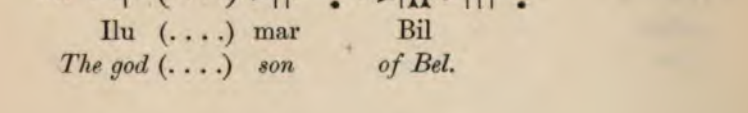
Amilu	.....	etimat
The man	.....	*moved.*

9. 

Mannu	inakkit ?	mannu	usatba ?
Who	*is there ?*	*who*	*comes ?*

10. 

Ishtar	marat	ili	Sin
Ishtar	*daughter*	*of the god*	*Sin.*

11. 

Ilu	(. . . .)	mar	Bil
The god	(. . . .)	*son*	*of Bel.*

12. . . (. . . . .)
Ilu Marduk mar (. . . . .)
The god Marduk son of (. . . . .)

13. . .
Zumri amili muttal-
The body of the man sick

liki usatbu
they approached.

[The next line 14 is nearly destroyed.]

15. . . . .
Khisibta sha ishtu
A jewel? which from

tarbatsi illu upluni
the treasury exalted they brought.

16. . . . .
Sisbu sha ishtu zuburi
A sisbu which from the storehouse

illu upluni
exalted they brought.

17. . . . . .
Ana khisibti illiti sha tarbatsi
To the jewel splendid of the treasury

illu sibta idima
exalted a hymn give.

18. Amilu . tar . ili-su . lubbit-ma
The man son of his god let him depart!

19. Amilu . sú . kima . khisibti .
That man like that jewel

lilil
may he be bright!

20. kima . sisbi . suatu .
Like sisbi that

litabbib
may he shine!

21. Kima . kaspi . birut . (.....)
Like silver pure (.....)

russu-su . laddankit
may his ..... be shining white!

22. Kima . kiebar . lilimmakh .
Like brass may it be resplendent!

23. Ana . Shems . asarat . ilim .
To the Sun greatest of the gods

pikitzu-ma
[*is*] *its return, and*

24. 𒀭𒌓 𒀀𒊭 . 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒌋𒌋𒌋 . 𒀭𒁹 𒀭𒀭𒀭 . 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀭𒁹𒁹 .

Shems	asarat	ilim	salmutzu
The Sun	*greatest*	*of the gods*	*the saved soul*

𒀀 . 𒅗𒁹𒁹 (. . . . .) 𒅗𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 .

ana	kati	(. . . . .)	libkit
unto	*hands*	*his*	*may he receive!*

Notes and Observations.

LINE

1. *Innassikh* may be the Chald. נשק 'to set on fire.'
2. *Itatti* is perhaps the T conjugation of the verb אתא 'to depart.'
3. *Itza* may be עז 'robur.' But the writing is somewhat effaced, and perhaps we should read 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 *ismi* 'force.'
6. 'She descended from her mountain.' The Assyrian Olympus.
7. *Itkhi-ma.* Perhaps this should be translated 'she knocked,' from תקע percussit.
8. *Etimat*, seems a conjugation of מוט 'to move'—'motus est loco' (Schindler). '*His head*' is found in the Accadian version, though wanting in the Assyrian.
9. 'Who is there? Who comes?' This is very quaint. The Accadian renders both clauses alike. *Aba zizi? aba zizi?* 𒀀𒀀 𒁹𒁹𒁹 . 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭.

   Inakkit appears to come from נגד coram. *Mannu inakkit!* quis coram? But this is doubtful. The letter may be 𒅗𒁹𒁹 and not 𒀭𒅗, and the word may be *innaskit.* *Mannu innaskit?* Quis occurrit? from נשק occurrit: see Psalm 85, 10.

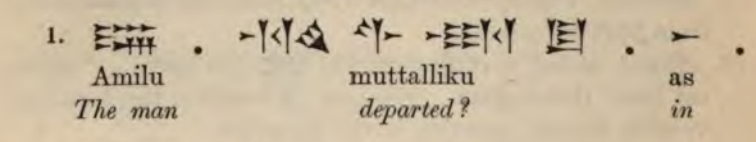
   Usatba is the istaphel conjugation of the verb בא venit, intrat, ingreditur.
13. *Usatbu* 'they approach,' is another example of the same verb.
17. *Sibta* 𒀀𒀭 𒅗𒁹𒁹𒁹. The Accadian has 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁹 *Kakama* 'song' or 'hymn.'
18. 'Son of his god.' This phrase is very often used in the sense of 'religious' or 'pious,' or 'accepted of God.'

Lubbit 'let him depart.' Arab. נבד discessit, aufugit (Schindler). A tense of this verb *innabit* (he fled) is very common.

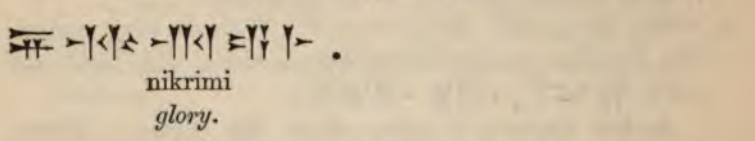
21. *Birut* from בר *purus*. But the reading is doubtful. *Laddankit* optative T conjugation of a verb נקד which means 'pure' or 'white' in Syriac, and is used in that language as an epithet of white linen, and milk, see Matth. xxvii, 59 and 1 Peter ii, 2. Or, more simply, from the common verb נקה or נקא *purus fuit;* the final T being frequently added in Assyrian.

22. *Lilimmakh*, reading doubtful, but may be the optative of Arab. למע to shine or glitter, which also takes the form למה (see Catafago's dict. p. 206). The verb is used to express 'the shining of the skin,' which is very suitable to the present passage.

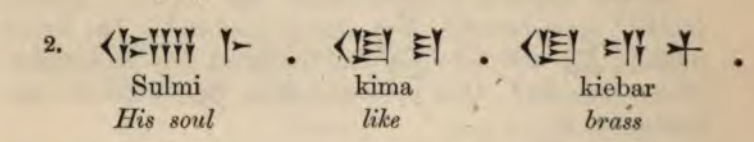
Appendix No. II.

1. 

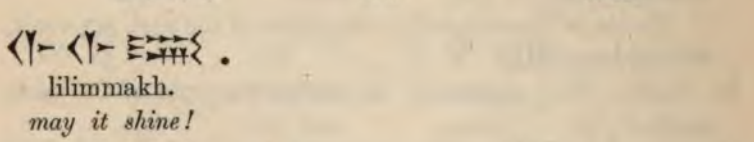
Amilu	muttalliku	as
The man	*departed?*	*in*



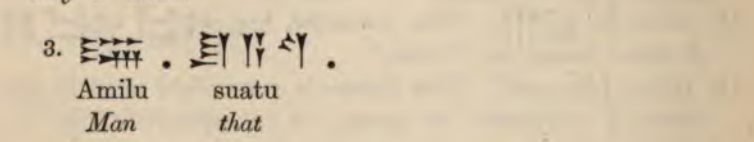
nikrimi
glory.

2. 

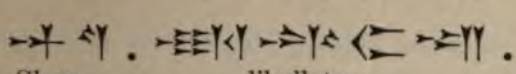
Sulmi	kima	kiebar
His soul	*like*	*brass*



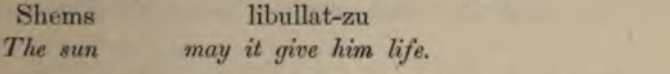
lilimmakh.
may it shine!

3. 

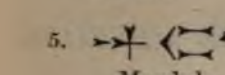
Amilu	suatu
Man	*that*

4. 

Shems libullat-zu
The sun may it give him life.

5. 

Marduk tar reshtu sha
Marduk son eldest of



absi ma
the Ocean, also

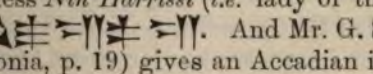
6.

dunnu dumku kummu
grant him a happy habitation.

NOTES.

LINE

1. *Nikrimi*, seems related to Arab. كرم to be glorified—see Schindler.
2. *Lilimmakh* is the verb we had before to express the shining of brass.
6. Is doubtful, because the first letter is effaced, and another inscription has *bunnu dummuk-umma.*

It is said in line 6 of the former inscription that Ishtar descended from her mountain. In fact 'Lady of the Mountain' was one of her chief titles. Nebuchadnezzar says: (E. I. H. 4, 14) 'I built a temple to the great goddess my mother, the goddess *Nin Harrissi* (*i.e.* lady of the mountain) written  . And Mr. G. Smith (Early History of Babylonia, p. 19) gives an Accadian inscription of great antiquity, addressed to *Ri* lady of the mountain (*Nin Harris*).

ON THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE ASSYRIANS.

No. III.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 1st April, 1873.

When the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity they brought with them a multitude of new opinions and superstitions, which had not been known in former times; and also some much purer doctrines, among which, was preëminent a belief in the immortality of the soul, which, after the captivity, was universally received, except by the sect of the Sadducees, who rejected it. I have already given some proofs from the tablets that this doctrine was held by the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, and during their long captivity the Jews adopted the belief, and retained it ever after. At the same time they accepted many other opinions which they found prevalent in the land of their captivity. The Babylonians believed most strongly in Demoniacal possession; in the power of exorcism; in charms, talismans, and holy water; in the constant presence of good and evil spirits, angels, and demons, some merely fantastic, others very hurtful and malignant.

Among other things the Jews brought from Babylon the names of their 12 months, Nisan, Iyyar, Sivan, Tammuz, &c., which are foreign and not Hebrew words; and these have now been found on Babylonian tablets, agreeing exactly both in name and order, which, be it said in passing, is a convincing proof of the correctness of Assyrian decipherment.

It may not be without interest to bring forward some instances of accordance between these ancient Eastern writings and the opinions of the Jews. Those who are able to search the Talmud would probably find an ample store of coincidences; but I shall confine myself to comparing certain passages of the Bible with some phrases of the Assyrian tablets.

I will first give several parallel passages from the Old Testament, and then some much closer ones from the New Testament.

§ 1. *Power of the Deity*

A celebrated passage in the song of Moses, Exod. xv, 11, is the following:—

Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? ..... Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, &c., &c.

It has been conjectured that the Maccabees inscribed these words upon their flag:—

Who is like thee among the gods, Jehovah?

מי כמכה באלם יהוה or rather, the initial letters of the words, namely, מכבי, which may be read *Maccabee*, and it is supposed they took their name from their flag. But be that as it may, it is interesting to find a similar thought written on one of the tablets; thus:—

Who can compare with thee, O Ninib son of Bel?
Thou didst not stretch forth thy hand ....

[The rest is broken off—perhaps it stood "thou didst not stretch forth thy hand *in vain*"].

Elsewhere we find:

O thou! thy words who can learn? who can rival them?
Among the gods thy brothers, thou hast no equal.

The following is part of an address to some deity:—

In heaven who is great? Thou alone art great!
On oerth who is great? Thou alone art great!
When thy voice resounds in heaven, the gods fall prostrate!
When thy voice resounds on earth, the genii kiss the dust!

This passage appears to me to approach the spirit of Hebrew poetry.

§ 2. *Resemblance of some peculiar phrases.*

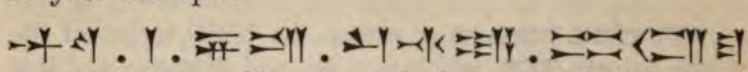
In Psalm cxli, 3, the following phrase occurs: "Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth: *keep the door of my lips!*"

This phrase I also find on a tablet:

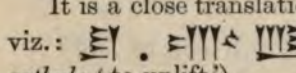
The god my creator, may his watchfulness never cease!
Keep thou the door of my lips! guard thou my hands,
O Lord of light!

In a previous line of the same Psalm cxli we read: "Let the lifting up of my hands be as the evening sacrifice!"

This phrase, 'the lifting up of my hands,' *Nish kati-ya*, is constantly employed on the tablets in lieu of the word *Prayer*. Example:



Shems	ana	nish	kati-ya	kula-mma
O Sun	*to the lifting up*		*of my hands*	*show favour!*

It is a close translation of the Accadian term for "prayer," viz.:  *su gathula* (from *su* 'hand' *gathula* 'to uplift').

Obs. Kula-mma in the foregoing line is the Heb. כול to receive, support, sustain, regard favourably. Lat. *tueri*.

§ 3. *Self-mutilation.*

The following is an illustration of a passage in the 1st Book of Kings xviii, 26, the well known history of Elijah contending with the 450 prophets of Baal. It is there written: "They called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, 'O Baal hear us!' But there was no voice, nor any that answered..... And it came to pass at noon that Elijah mocked them and said 'Cry aloud!' ..... And they cried aloud, and cut themselves AFTER THEIR MANNER with knives and lancets till the blood gushed out upon them."

The writer of this history drew no ideal picture. A tablet shows the existence of this savage custom, and that it was accounted highly meritorious.

After saying, "The man who worships not his god shall be cut down like a reed," it continues:

He who stabs his flesh in honour of Ishtar, the goddess unrivalled,
Like the stars of heaven he shall shine: like the river of night he shall flow!

By 'the river of night' I understand the Milky Way; for this would bring the two metaphors into harmony.

Judging from the greatness of the glory promised, perhaps this passage means, "He who *slays himself* in honour of Ishtar," &c. &c. For the verb employed is the Hebrew שחט, which both in Hebrew and on the tablets means 'to sacrifice a victim,' as in Leviticus i, 5; and even a human victim, Genesis xxii, 10.

I am not aware whether self-immolation was a passport to the highest heaven in other religious systems.

§ 4. *The custom of prostration before a superior being.*

Tobit xii, 15. "When the angel said 'I am Raphael,' then they were troubled, *and fell upon their faces:* for they feared."

With this compare a passage from a tablet: "With repeated sacrifices, and uplifting of hands, *and falling flat on my face*, every day that I live I have worshipped him."

This is exactly the phrase used in Numbers xxii, 31, "When Balaam saw the Angel of the Lord he bowed down his head, and fell *flat* on his face." The authorised version is correct, for such is the meaning, although the Hebrew has not the word *flat*. For the Assyrian writers use the phrase frequently and always add the epithet '*flat*.' Here is an example of it from another tablet:

Before his god in prayer he fell flat on his face.

These phrases may suffice, taken from the Old Testament. I now proceed to some opinions of the later Jews.

§ 5. *Magic knots.*

Justin Martyr, speaking of the Jewish exorcists, says, καταδεσμοις χρωνται. These καταδεσμοι were magic ties or knots (Liddell and Scott, quoting Plato). A similar usage prevailed among the Babylonians, as appears from a tablet. I can only give a few lines of it, the remainder is too difficult and uncertain.

The god Marduk wishes to soothe the last moments of a dying man. His father Héa says: Go, my son!

Take a woman's linen kérchief,
Bind it? round thy right hand: loose it? from the left hand,
Knot it with seven knots: do so twice;
Bind it round the head of the sick man;
Bind it round his hands and feet, like manacles and fetters:
Sit down? on his bed:
Sprinkle holy water over him:
The gods will receive his dying spirit.

I have abridged the last few lines.

§ 6. *Talismans, Amulets, and Phylacteries.*

There is a great deal in the tablets about the cure of diseases. I do not find any mention of the use of medicine: They seem to have relied wholly on charms and incantations.

The first step was to guard the entrance of the sick man's chamber. A tablet says:

That nothing Evil may enter, place at the door the god (. . . .) and the god (. . . .).

That is to say, their images. I believe these were little figures of the gods, brought by the priests, perhaps a sort of Teraphim.

The following line is more explicit:

Place the guardian statues of Héa and Marduk at the door, on the right hand and on the left.

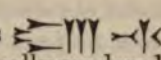
But they added to this another kind of protection:

Right and left of the threshold of the door spread out holy texts or sentences.

Place on the statues, texts bound around them (*masi kissuruti*).

These must have been long strips like ribbons, of parchment or papyrus. The following line is still clearer:

In the night time bind around the sick man's head, a sentence taken from a good book.

The word which I have rendered '*book*' is  *dupti*. This word, of frequent occurrence, is usually rendered 'a tablet,' but here the context shows that it must have been a paper or parchment writing. Add to which, that the word *dupti*, which in Chaldean is דפ *tabula*, is used in Rabbinic literature for *folium libri* and *pagina*. These holy texts bound round the limbs, appear to have been the origin of the φυλακτηρια or phylacteries of the Jews, which, as their name imports (from φυλασσεσθαι 'to guard oneself') were considered to be protections from all evil. Schleusner in his lexicon of the N. Test. says they were 'laminæ seu schedæ membranaceæ quibus inscriptæ erant variæ legis Mosaicæ sectiones: quia Judæi credebant inesse his ligamentis vim ad avertenda quævis mala, *maximè ad dæmones fugandos* ut apparet ex Targum ad Cantic. VIII, 3.' And he adds that they were fastened on the forehead and left arm. Justin Martyr says they were written on very thin membranes.

The word which I have rendered 'text' or 'sentence' is *masal*, which is very interesting, being exactly the same as the Hebrew word משל which Gesenius renders *sententia* and γνωμη. He also says it means a *Carmen* in general, of that kind where each verse consists of two half verses of the same meaning and form. Now it is remarkable that the Chaldæan tablets abound in verses of that kind, so that if one half of the line is intelligible the other may be guessed at, and frequently with success. But sometimes instead of *masal* we find *masa* with the same meaning. Here again the Hebrew

agrees, having the word משא *sententia*, see Gesenius, who quotes this passage of Proverbs:

The words of King Lemuel: the sentences (משא) which his mother had taught him. Proverbs xxxi, 1.

§ 7. *Demoniacal possession.*

This is a very frequent subject of the tablets. The following one was published long ago in the 2nd vol. of British Museum Inscriptions, pl. 18. It says of a sick man: "May the goddess ..... wife of the god ..... *pani-su ana ashri shanuma likun*, turn his face in another direction; *udukku sinu litzi-ma, as akhati lizbat*, that the Evil Spirit may come out of him and be thrust aside: *sidi tuki, lamassi tuki as zumri-su lu-kayan*, that good spirits and good powers may dwell in his body."

I have already mentioned that divine images were brought into the chamber and written texts taken from holy books were placed on the walls and bound around the sick man's brows. If these failed recourse was had to the influence of the *mamit*, which the evil powers were unable to resist.

§ 8. *The Mamit used as a Charm.*

The account of this in pl. 17 of vol. 2 British Museum Inscriptions, contains only the Accad version, the Assyrian being broken off except a mere fragment. It says:

Take a white cloth. In it place the Mamit, in the sick man's right hand.
And take a black cloth; wrap it round his left hand
Then all the evil spirits [*a long list of them is given*] and the sins which he has committed shall quit their hold of him, and shall never return.

The symbolism of the black cloth in the left hand seems evident. The dying man repudiates all his former evil deeds. And he puts his trust in holiness symbolized by the white cloth in his right hand.

The Accadian language being difficult, some part of the above is doubtful. There are some obscure lines about the spirits.

Their heads shall remove from his head:
Their hands shall let go his hands:
Their feet shall depart from his feet:

which perhaps may be explained thus: We learn, from another tablet, that the various classes of evil spirits troubled different parts of the body. Some injured the head, some the hands and feet, &c., &c. Therefore the passage before us may mean: "The spirits whose power is over the hand, shall loose their hands from his," &c., &c. But I can offer no decided opinion on such obscure points of their superstition.

§ 9. *Various New Testament passages.*

I now proceed to point out several remarkable resemblances with passages in the New Testament.

The following striking passage occurs in what may well be called, a penitential psalm.

O my Lord! be not angry with thy servant!
In the waters of the great storm, seize his hand!

In reading this, it is impossible not to think of Christ and Peter walking on the waves in the midst of the storm. *And he cried saying, Lord save me! and immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand and caught him.* Matth. xiv, 31.

§ 10. *Inherited or imputed Sins.*

I come next to an extraordinary opinion which was held by the disciples of Jesus, but which their Master promptly rebuked (John ix, 1–3). *And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him saying, Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents.*

It is interesting to find this belief very strongly expressed upon a Chaldean tablet, and we hence see that the Jews derived this superstitious notion from the East. In this

tablet, a man is grievously tormented by pains, which are attributed to Evil Spirits. The god Marduk hears his cries and takes pity on him. He hastens to the abode of his father the god Héa and takes counsel with him. Héa among other things advises him to unfold the Mamit, and to say:

Depart, thou evil spirit, from his body!
Whether thou art the sin of his father
Or whether thou art the sin of his mother
Or whether thou art the sin of his elder brother
Or whether thou art the sin of some one who is unknown.

The Accadian text agrees closely. It is evident that these sins or curses only *descended.* They could not *ascend* from a younger brother to an elder. I have translated the word *arrat* 'sins' rather than 'curses' (which it means in some texts) because I find the word *aran* very plainly used in the sense of 'sins' in a prayer to the Sun: "O Sun! absolve his sins: put away his trespasses!"

§ 11. *The holy number Seven.*

The book of Revelations (i, 4) speaks of the seven spirits which are before the throne of God, and likens them to seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, and to seven eyes (Rev. iv, 5 and v, 6). Commentators explain this by saying that *seven* was a holy and a mystical number among the Jews. And we now find that it was still more so among the Babylonians, for the doctrine is stated most emphatically in the tablets—for instance in the following:

Song of the Seven Spirits.

They are seven! they are seven!
In the depths of Ocean they are seven!
In the heights of Heaven they are seven!
In the Ocean stream, in a Palace they were born
Male they are not! Female they are not!

Wives they have not! Children are not born to them!
Rule they have not! Government they know not!
Prayers they hear not!
They are seven! and they are seven! Twice over they
are seven!

I have omitted some obscure lines of this curious song. The spirits of this tablet seem to have been neither very good nor very bad. It was different with others of their race, as I shall show elsewhere.

Now let us turn to a remarkable text of the New Testament, Matth. xii, 43; Luke xi, 26. *When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man he walketh through dry places seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return into my house from whence I came out, and when he is come he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself, seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in, and dwell there.*

Probably our Lord on this occasion used popular language, and if so, we may conclude that it was a long-standing opinion among the Jews, that Spirits of whatever nature, whether the holiest or the most impure, by virtue of their nature were numbered by *sevens.* So also were the Angels (see Tobit xii, 15): "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels which present the prayers of the Saints and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One." And in Revelations xv, 6: "Seven angels came out of the Temple."

To return however to the subject of seven evil spirits at once entering into a man, there are frequent allusions to them, and to their expulsion, on the tablets. One runs thus:

The god (. . . .) shall stand by his bed side:
Those seven evil spirits he shall root out, and expel
them from his body.
And those seven shall never return to the sick man again!

§ 12. *Sins and Trespasses.*

Again we meet with the mystical number *seven,* when sins and trespasses are spoken of in the New Testament:

Luke xvii, 4. "*If thy brother trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day return again to thee saying, I repent: thou shalt forgive him.*"

But the most remarkable saying of our Lord on this subject, was in reply to Peter. Matth. xviii, 21, "*Then Peter came to him and said, Lord! how oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? till seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not until seven times, but until seventy times seven.*"

Everybody understands that Jesus here used a proverbial or idiomatic expression, implying a great but indefinite number. Had such an expression not been readily intelligible he would not have used it. But it was deeply rooted in the Semitic idiom, as the following words of an Assyrian prayer plainly show:

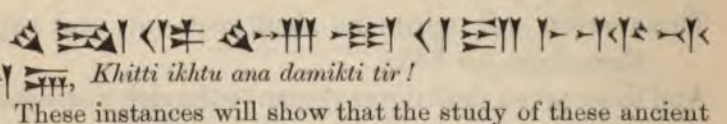
O my god! my sins are seven times seven!

The penitent then turns to his goddess, beginning, 'O my goddess!' and repeats the same confession. Here are some further portions of this Assyrian psalm:

O my Lord! my sins are many, my trespasses are great:
Wherefore the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease
And with sickness and sorrow.
I fainted: but no one stretched forth his hand!
I cried aloud: but no one heard me!

A few lines afterwards, the penitent hopes for pardon:

But O Lord! save thy servant!
And the sins which he has sinned turn thou to holiness!

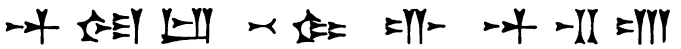

Khitti ikhtu ana damikti tir!

These instances will show that the study of these ancient tablets may be of use in illustrating some points of Biblical phraseology.

APPENDIX.

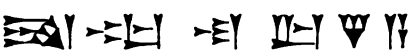
Containing the Cuneiform text, with notes and observations.

For facility of reference the texts are placed in the order in which they occur in my memoir.

1. 

Ninib	billi	mar	Bel
O Ninib	*Lord,*	*son*	*of Bel,*

mannu	isannan	. . . . .
who	*can compare*	[*with thee?*]

2. 

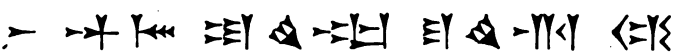
it-ka	la	tassá	. . . . .	(*word lost*)
thy hand	*not thou liftest up*		. . . .	

NOTE.—The Accadian version agrees: *it-zu nu mun-gathula. Gathula* is the usual word for 'lifting up.' This is from Tablet K 2862, 4 R 13.

1.

ka-ata	amat-ka	mannu	ilammad
O thou!	*thy word*	*who*	*shall learn,*

mannu	isanan
who	*shall rival?*

2. 

as	ili	atkhi-ka	makhiri	val
among the gods		*thy brothers,*	*an equal*	*not*

tisi
thou hast.

NOTES.—*Atkhi* for *akhi* (brothers) occurs frequently on the tablets. But it is a singular usage. It was probably pronounced *Atthi.* The Accadian version leaves no doubt of the meaning. [illegible]
brothers thy among.

Makhira val isu (he has no equal) is a very common phrase. But it is rare to find it in the second person *tisi* (thou hast).—Tablet K 2861, 4 R 9.

1. [illegible]
as sami mannu tsiru atta
in heaven who (is) great? thou

[illegible]
edissi-ka tsirat
only-thou (art) great!

2. [illegible]
as kiti mannu tsiru atta
on earth who (is) great? thou

[illegible]
edissi-ka . . . . .
only-thou [art great].

3. [illegible]
ka-ata amat-ka as sami
thou thy voice in heaven

[illegible]
izakkar-ma ili appa ilabbinu
resounds, the gods (on) their face fall flat:

4. [illegible]
ka-ata amat-ka as kiti
thou thy voice on earth

izakar-ma Anunnaki kakkaru
resounds, *the Genii* *the dust*

unasaku
kiss.

NOTE.—Observe the two spellings of the word *izakkar.* From the same Tablet, l. 54.

1. Nini bani-ya ida ai
the god *my creator* *(his) care* *never*

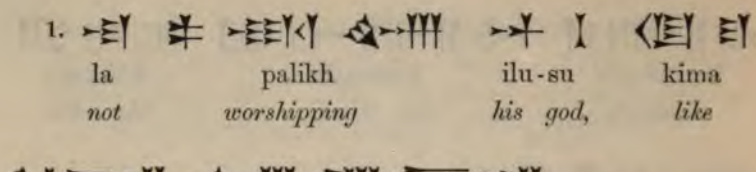
liz . . . . . .
may it cease.

2. mutzu pi-ya sutisur,
the door *of my lips* *keep thou;*

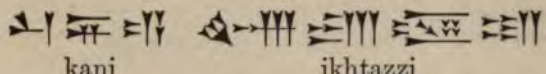
kataya
my hands

3. sutisir-amma bil nuri
guard likewise *O Lord of light!*

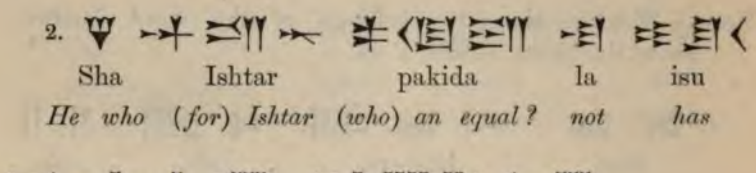
NOTE.—*Nini* 'a god' occurs not unfrequently: see Syllab. 688 *nini . ili,* and my Glossary No. 420. The above is found on Tablet K 256, 4 R 17.

1. 

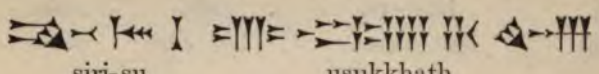
la palikh ilu-su kima
not worshipping his god, like



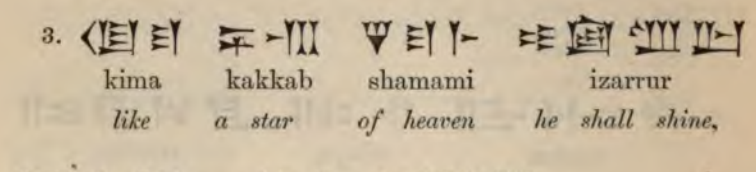
kani ikhtazzi
a reed shall be cut down.

2. 

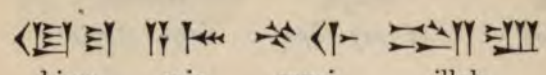
Sha Ishtar pakida la isu
He who (for) Ishtar (who) an equal? not has



siri-su usukkhath
his flesh stabs

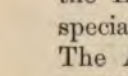
3. 

kima kakkab shamami izarrur
like a star of heaven he shall shine,



kima mie musi illak
like the river of night he shall flow.

NOTES.—*Ikhtazzi.* T conjugation of קצץ to cut.

Usukkhath, 'stabs': as it were *sacrificially*. This is the Heb. שחט mactavit pecudem, and is the word specially employed in Hebrew for 'slaying a victim.' The Accadian version has  *papaga* 'to sacrifice,' which agrees well.

Illak, 'shall flow.' The verb הלך is frequently used of a river, whence *Malak* its 'flow' or 'course.' Tablet K 3169, 4 R 3.

ikribi-ya sunukhuti nish
with my sacrifices repeated, (and) uplifting

kati-ya u laban appi-ya sha
of my hands and falling flat on my face on

tami sam? abullu ustaninnu-su
day every (that) I lived I have worshipped him.

NOTES.—[cuneiform] very often means 'every.' I am not sure whether it was pronounced *sam*.

Ustaninnu is a conjugation of *utnin* to pray, and related to *unninni* prayers. Tablet K 3444, 4 R 20.

---

ana ilu-su as unnini appa-su
before his god in prayer, (on) his face

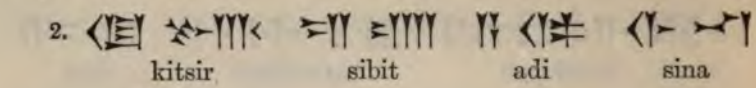
ilabbin
he fell flat.

The above is from Tablet K 4899, 4 R 27.

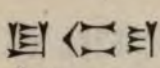
MAGIC KNOTS.

1. . . . . pasaktu imna
a female linen kerchief (on thy) right hand

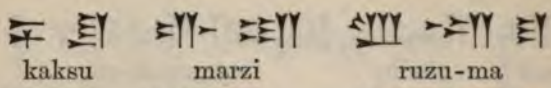
latsib-ma sumila litzib
bind? (on thy) left hand leave loose.

2. 

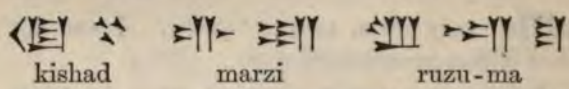
kitsir sibit adi sina
with knots seven, times twice,



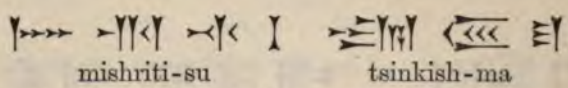
kutzur-ma
knot it.

3. 

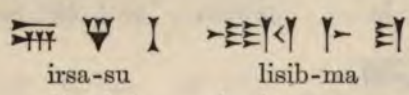
kaksu marzi ruzu-ma
the head of the sick man bind it round:

4. 

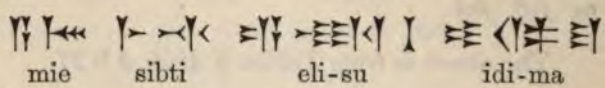
kishad marzi ruzu-ma
the brows of the sick man bind it round:

5. 

mishriti-su tsinkish-ma
(and on) his hands and feet like fetters, also.

6. 

irsa-su lisib-ma
his bed sit down upon:

7. 

mie sibti eli-su idi-ma
(and) water pure? over him cast.

From Tablet K 3169, 4 R 3.

NOTES.—Line 1. 'female.' The word often occurs, but I do not know its pronunciation.

Pasaktu. Heb. פשת linum.

Line 2. Heb. קשר ligavit, whence subst. *kitzir*, and verb *kutzur*.

Sibit 'seven.' The Accadian always renders it by the numeral sign .

Adi 'times.' Heb. עת tempus. The Accadian employs the same word, viz. *Adu.*

Sina 'two.' Heb. שני. The Accadian renders it by the numeral sign.

Line 3. *Ruzu*, to bind? Heb. רצע 'lorum,' a band or strap.

Line 4 has almost the same meaning as line 3. I think these lines were *alternative:* the reader selected the one which he preferred.

Line 5. *Mishriti* is explained (here and elsewhere) by the Accadian 'hands and feet.'

Tsinkish adv. 'like fetters,' from Heb. צנק 'a fetter.'

Line 6. *Irsa* 'a bed.' Heb. ערש 'lectus.' The Accadian has 'a couch.'

Line 7. *Sibti.* Accadian *Namru*, 'bright.'

Ana nin sini nu tie ilu . . . . . .
That nothing evil not may enter, the god (. . . .)

ilu . . . . . as babi . . . . .
and the god (. . . .) *at the door* (*place*).

NOTE.—*Sini.* The Accadian renders it *evil.*

Tie. Accad. a verb which seems usually to mean "to enter and hurt." This line is on Tablet K 3197, 4 R 21.

Zalam mazzari sha ili Hea
The statues guardian of the god Hea

u ili (Marduk) ana babu imna u kabbu . . . . .
and the god Marduk at the door, on the right and left (*place*).

[Same Tablet, line 38]

NOTE.—*Zalam.* The Accadian version has the monogram for 'statue.'

Mazzari. The Accadian has *Innun* 'guardian,' or 'watching over.'

Marduk. The name is lost in the Assyrian text, but restored from the Accadian: as is also part of the word *kabbu.*

The lines which I have next quoted, from the same Tablet, are much broken.

Masi	muntaksi	. . . . .	as	sibbi
Sentences	*spread out*	. . .	*upon the threshold*	

babi	imna	u	sumila	. . . . .
of the door right		*and*	*left*	[*place*].

NOTE.—*Masi.* Heb. משא sententia. The Accadian version has the plural of *Mas*, which is frequently used on the tablets for 'sentence,' in such phrases as 'this tablet has twenty sentences,' which on counting them I have found to be correct.

Muntaksi. Heb. נטש expansus est. Fürst says to stretch, extend, spread out.

Sibbi. Heb. and Chald. סף limen: threshold.

---

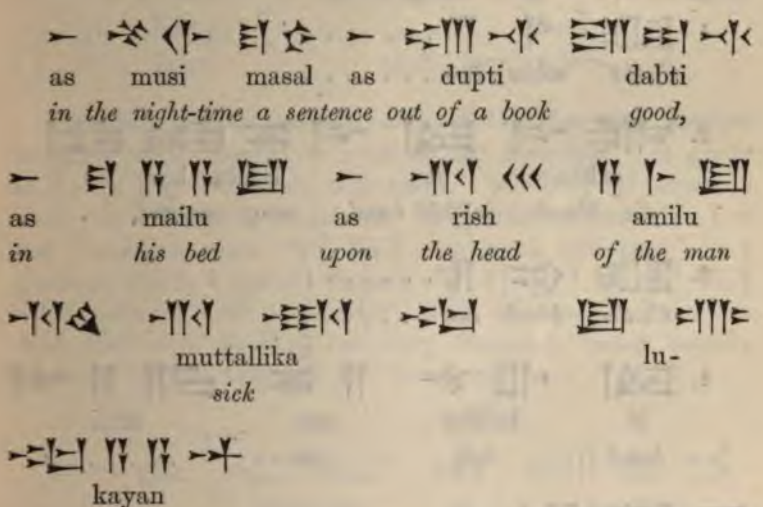
sina	zalam	masi	kitzuruti

(*On*) *the two statues* [*place*] *the sentences bound around them.*

[Same Tablet, line 18.]

NOTE.—*Kitzuruti* is another word derived from the root קשר. Gesenius renders it *fascia* 'a band,' and 'alligavit sibi cinguli instar.' This verb קשר is the one used in the following passage of Deuteronomy, which is so illustra-

tive of this Assyrian tablet concerning phylacteries, that I will quote it at length. "*Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart, and* (קשר) *bind them for a sign upon your hand, and as frontlets between your eyes . . . . . And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates.*"—Deut. xi, 18. These holy words, thus commanded to be bound round the hand, and the brows, were doubtless written on parchment, and it may reasonably be concluded that the Assyrian *masi* were so likewise.



as musi masal as dupti dabti
in the night-time a sentence out of a book good,

as mailu as rish amilu
in his bed upon the head of the man

muttallika lu-
sick

kayan
bind.

[Tablet K 111, 4 R 15.]

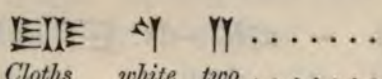
NOTES.—*Masal.* Heb. משל sententia. The Accadian renders it ✕.

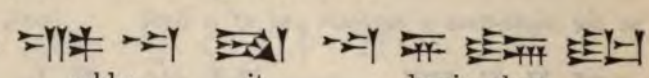
Kayan, to make fast: to stand fast. Heb. כון confirmavit. This verb is frequent.

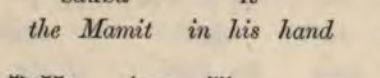
Mailu, sometimes *mayal* 'a bed.' From the Arabic מול or מאל to recline. Schindler p. 983. So in Greek Κλινη 'a bed' from κλινειν, to lie down. The Accadian version agrees, having 'a bed.'

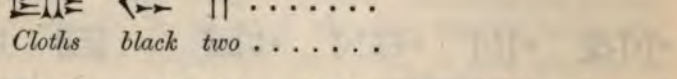
Muttallik I derive doubtfully from Ch. טלק cecidit super lectum (*Schindler*). Buxtorf gives examples of this verb: among them the following, ויטלק לערס מרע 'et ceciderit in lectum ægrotus.' These three words in their Assyrian form are all very common on the tablets, and therefore I think they support each other as being identical with the Chaldee roots which I have mentioned.

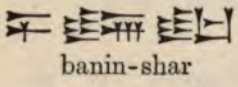
The next passage is written in the difficult Accadian language, and I cannot translate the whole of it. It is published in the 2nd vol. of Rawlinson's British Museum Inscriptions, plate 17, line 55.

1 
Cloths white two . . . . . .

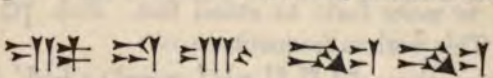
2. 
sakba it banin-shar
the Mamit in his hand wrap around.

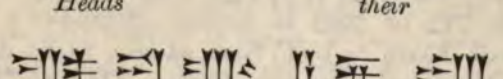
3. 
Cloths black two . . . . . .

4. 
it kabbu ani tába
hand left his . . . . . .


banin-shar
wrap around.

A long list of evil dæmons follows, and it is said of them—

1. 
Heads their

2. 
head his from :

3. *hands their, hand his from:*

4. *feet their, foot his from (shall depart?)*

5. baran timaleni?
never shall they come to injure (him)

6. baran . . . . . eni
never shall they return.

A small portion of the end of the Assyrian version remains, which serves to confirm the Accadian. It gives kati-sun, *their hands.* sepi-sun *their feet. Baran* is translated *Ai* 'never.' We had the Accadian verb 'to come and hurt' in a passage which I quoted before, 'that nothing evil may enter' (the sick man's chamber). And the verb is very frequent, being usually rendered by the Assyrian *tir* 'to return.'

---

1. Billi ardu-ka la tasakip
O my Lord! thy servant do not let fall!

2. as mie rutakti nadi
in the waters of the storm great

kat-zu zabat.
his hand seize!

[Tablet K 2811, 4 R 10.]

NOTE.—*Billi.* The final *i* is the pronoun, as appears from the Accadian version which has (my).

Rutakti (storm). The whole importance of the passage depends upon this word. I will therefore show by another very clear example that it is correctly translated. In Mr. Smith's Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 192, there is an account of the shipwreck of Tammaritu king of Elam, which begins thus: "The ship of Tammartu, which a whirlwind and a storm (*rutaetu*) had caught (*izbatu*)." The word *rutuktu* is derived from the Heb. רתח æstuavit: commovit: ebullivit.

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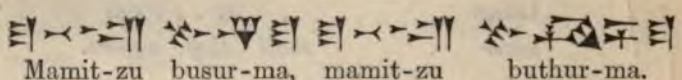
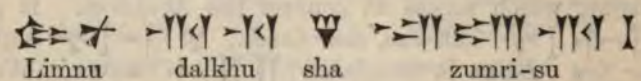
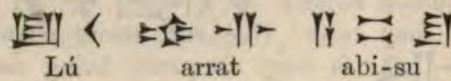
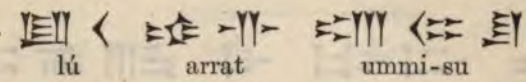
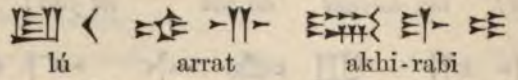
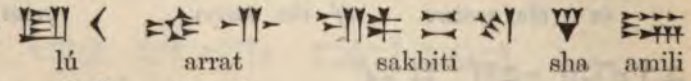
1. 
Mamit-zu busur-ma, mamit-zu buthur-ma.
The mamit for him unfold, the mamit for him bring forth.

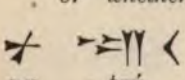
2. 
Limnu dalkhu sha zumri-su
Evil spirit disturber of his body

3. 
Lú arrat abi-su
Whether the sin of his father;

4. 
lú arrat ummi-su
or whether the sin of his mother:

5. 
lú arrat akhi-rabi
or whether the sin of his elder brother:

6. 
lú arrat sakbiti sha amili
or whether the sin . . . . . of a man


nu tzú
not known.

[K 65, 4 R 7.]

NOTES.—Line 1. *Busur.* The Accadian version has *passur*, which generally means 'explicavit.'

Buthur. Heb. פטר emissus est: apertus est: exivit.

Line 6. *Nu tzú* is Accadian. Words of that language frequently occur in the Assyrian text. Usually the scribe translates *nu tzú* by *la idu*, but here he has not done so.

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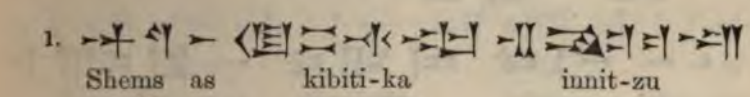
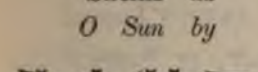
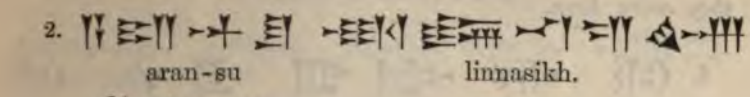
1. 

Shems	as	kibiti-ka	innit-zu
O Sun	*by*	*thy word*	*his sins*



lippadir
absolve,

2. 

aran-su	linnasikh.
his trespasses	*remove.*

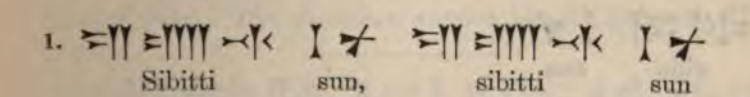
[K 256, 4 R 17.]

NOTES.—*Lippadir.* Heb. פטר liberavit.

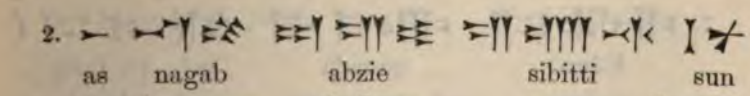
Aran is rendered by the Accadian word which generally renders 'sins' or 'trespasses.'

Linnasikh. Heb. נסח to take away.

SONG OF THE SEVEN SPIRITS.

1. 

Sibitti	sun,	sibitti	sun
Seven	*they are,*	*seven*	*they are,*

2. 

as	nagab	abzie	sibitti	sun
in	*the stream*	*of Ocean*	*seven*	*they are,*

3. as zunuti shamie
in the height? of heaven

sibitti sun
seven they are

4. as nagab abzie as kummi
in the stream of Ocean in a palace

irbú-sun
they were born.

5. val zikaru sun, val
not male they are, not

. . . . . sun
female they are:

6. assatu val ikhzu, maru val
wives not they have, a child not

aldu sun.
is born to them.

7. Edira gamala val idū
Order and government not they know:

8. ikriba taslita ? val
prayers . . . . . *not*

isimmu
they hear:

9. sibitti sun, sibitti sun,
seven *they are,* *seven* *they are,*

sibit adi sina sun.
seven *times* *two* *they are.*

[Tablet K 3121, 4 R 2.]

NOTES.—Line 2. *Nagab.* Another copy has . *Nakbi.*

Line 3. *Zunuti.* This word is doubtful.

Line 4. *Kummi* "a palace" is not unfrequent. The Accadian version has 'royal house."

Line 5. *Zikaru.* The other copy has *Zik-ru.* The Accadian version has 'male,' and 'female.'

Line 6. *Assat* or *Ashat* 'a wife,' is frequent. It is the Heb. אשת.

Ikhzu: probably the Heb. אחז to possess.

Line 7. *Edira* and *Gamala* are usually joined together. *Edira* is 'order' or 'rule.' Heb. עדר ordinavit.

Line 8. *Taslita* is doubtful, but may mean 'prayers,' from Chald. צלא 'to pray.'

Line 9. *Sina.* The Accadian version has the numeral .

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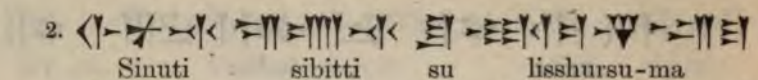
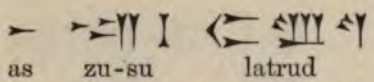
1. Ilu . . . . . ana rabitzuti-su
The god of fire? *at* *his bedside*

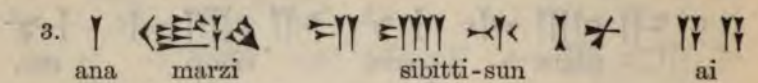
lizziz
shall stand:

2. 

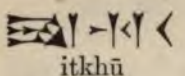
Sinuti sibitti su lisshursu-ma
Wicked ones seven those he shall root out, and



as zu-su latrud
from his body he shall expel:

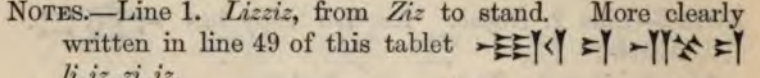
3. 

ana marzi sibitti-sun ai
to the sick man those seven never



itkhū
shall return.

[Tablet K 111, 4 R 15.]

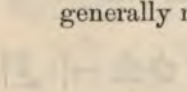
NOTES.—Line 1. *Lizziz*, from *Ziz* to stand. More clearly written in line 49 of this tablet  *li.iz.zi.iz.*

Line 2. *Lisshursu*, probably from שרש *radix*.

Latrud, opt. of the verb *tarud* 'to expel,' Chald. טרד ejecit, which occurs frequently on the tablets.

Zu 'the body' is Accadian. The Assyrian is *Zumur*, but they frequently employ the Accadian form *Zu* for brevity.

Marzi 'sick' occurs very often on the tablets. Arabic *marīd* (sick) Catafago's dictionary; which Schindler writes מרצ. In fact the letter ض answers to the Heb. צ in various words as צבוע hyæna; צחק 'to laugh,' &c., &c.

Itkhu is  in the Accadian version, which generally means "to come or return."

SINS AND TRESPASSES.

The first passage which I have quoted under this head is in the Accadian language: it has no Assyrian translation annexed to it.

1. *O god mine, my sins (are)*

seven times seven.

2. *O mother goddess mine* [remainder the same as in line 1.]

[Tablet K 2811, 4 R 10, col. II, 45.]

NOTE.—The syntax is "seven (repeated) seven times": compare the passage quoted previously, "seven (repeated) two times."

The following is from the same Tablet, col. I.

1. Billi annu-a mahida rabá

O my Lord! my sins are many, great (are)

khidatú-a

my trespasses!

2. Billi as ukkum libbi-su ikkilman-anni

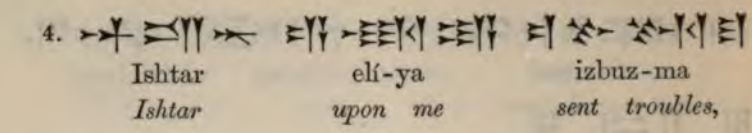
my Lord in the anger of his heart smote me

3. Ili as uzzi libbi-su

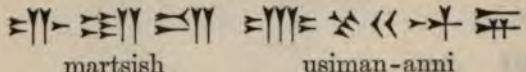
my god in the fiery (wrath) of his heart

usamkhir-anni

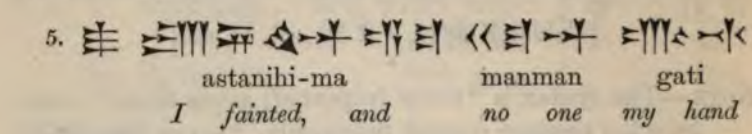
sent me plagues.

4. 

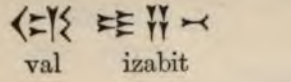
Ishtar elí-ya izbuz-ma
Ishtar upon me sent troubles,



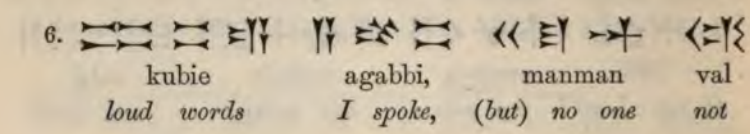
martsish usiman-anni
perilously she poisoned me

5. 

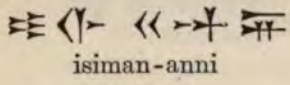
astanihi-ma manman gati
I fainted, and no one my hand



val izabit
not took

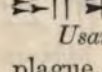
6. 

kubie agabbi, manman val
loud words I spoke, (but) no one not

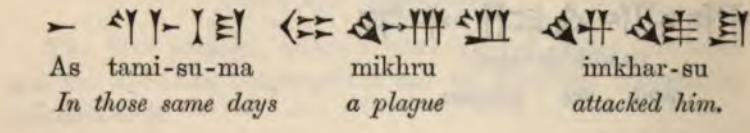


isiman-anni
heard me.

NOTES.—Line 2. *Ikkilma*, from Arabic כלם to wound or injure (Fürst, p. 663).

Line 3 is an alternative line to 2. *Uzzi* 'fire' or 'fiery,' is rendered here, and often elsewhere, by the Accadian  .

Usamkhir. S conjugation of *Makhar*, to send a plague, or dire disease, see the Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 118.



As tami-su-ma mikhru imkhar-su
In those same days a plague attacked him.

Line 4. *Izbuz* may be from root שבש turbavit.

Usiman. Chald. סמ *venenum.* Arab. *sammam* 'to poison' (Cataf.). On the first Michaux stone, one of the curses is, "May the goddess Gula afflict his body with poison that cannot be healed," *simma la azza*

Line 5. *Astanihi* is the *tan* conj. of שהה to fall prostrate. The Hebrew uses a different conjugation ישתחו and השתחוה which wants the letter N so frequently inserted in Assyrian verbs.

JOSEPH'S TOMB IN SECHEM.

By Professor Donaldson, K.L., Ph. D., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., &c.

Read 7th January, 1873.

There are few incidents in the Sacred Scriptures more touching than the narrative of the pious care with which the Children of Israel fulfilled the injunction of Joseph, to carry his bones to the land of promise, "And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence. So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt."—Genesis l, 24–26. In the Exodus xiii, 19, we learn that "Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly swore the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you." And in the last chapter of Joshua, verse 32, it is recorded, "And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Sechem in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Sechem, for an hundred pieces of silver [Gen. xxxiii, 19], and it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph."

There is hardly any spot in Palestine which combines, as this does, the tradition of past times and the concurrent assent as to its authenticity of the varied sects, whether Samaritan, Jewish, Turkish, or Christian; and this is the more remarkable in a country where the struggles of religious strife are so prevalent, and every supposed holy spot is so much the object of violent contention, whether to Greek or

JOSEPH'S TOMB, SHECHEM.

18th November 1868

A. *Jewish Inscription.* ‖ B. *Samaritan Inscription.*

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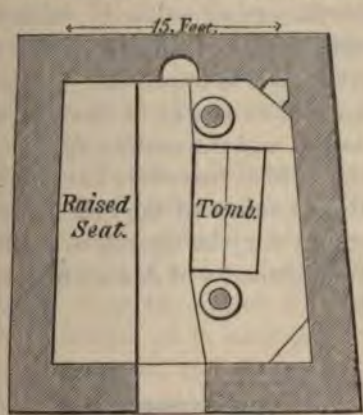
Latin. But the truth is, that the Christian does not associate with this tomb any special saintlike sanctity, and no superstitious ceremonial or pilgrimage attaches to it. The approach to the Valley of Nablous, at the point where this old ruined tomb stands, is most impressive. Hermon, with its snowy top, and still some days' journey distant to the north, rises majestically in the far north. The Valley of Nablous opens to the left, with Ebal to the right and Gerizim opposite to it, thrilling names in the Scripture narrative; and at half an hour's ride is the town of Nablous. Near this spot of the tomb is Jacob's Well, where our Saviour had his conversation with the Samaritan woman; it is most frequently dry, and very much choked with large stones. Not far distant is the enclosure of Joseph's Tomb, rhomboidal in shape, the inside shorter side measuring fifteen feet in the clear; the depth somewhat exceeding that dimension, and the enclosure walls rise some seven feet high, with an opening at one end. Opposite the entrance is a small mihrâb or prayer niche, about two feet six inches wide, with a circular head, and over it are two inscriptions, the upper one in Hebrew characters, the lower in Samaritan. In one angle on the niche side, and at the height of about five feet, is a splay, in which is formed a niche head, as shown in the view. A narrow irregular central



paved path leads from the entrance up to the niche, and on each side, rising six or seven inches above the path, is a dias; that to the left forming a kind of prayer platform or seat.

On the dais to the right is the tomb of some Mahomedan Haji, which is said to be held in some veneration by his co-religionists. At each end of this tomb is a detached pillar or post, some eighteen inches in diameter, and rising about three feet, scooped out on the upper surface into the shape of a hollow basin, and which had the appearance of having served for fire. The tomb of the Turk is oblong in shape, and rises from the dais in a curved form with a pointed ridge.

The construction of the whole is of the roughest materials, plastered over—as is the custom of such sepulchral erections of the Turks—with considerable cracks in the walls, and threatening speedy destruction.

When we consider the pious reverence with which Moses and the descendants of Joseph conveyed their precious relic from the land of bondage, we may conceive that, although the present erection may be on the spot of its ultimate deposit, it is but reasonable to suppose they followed the custom of the Egyptians, among whom they had dwelt so long, and with whose manner of interment they would have been so well acquainted. If so, they must have made a considerable excavation in the ground, consistent with the exalted position of their forefather. In this they must have formed a sepulchral chamber, lining it with stone, and must therein have laid the embalmed body, with its wooden sarcophagus or coffin, with becoming funereal rites. Without making an excavation it is impossible to ascertain whether any such chamber still exists, or to discover any further particulars of this sacred and interesting spot.

The hurry with which travellers have to hasten on their journey in the Holy Land, and the impatience of one's companions, will account for this scanty account of one of the most remarkable monuments of Jewish history, as it was in November, 1868.

A ת CONJUGATION,

SUCH AS EXISTS IN ASSYRIAN, SHOWN TO BE A CHARACTER OF EARLY SHEMITIC SPEECH, BY ITS VESTIGES FOUND IN THE HEBREW, PHŒNICIAN, ARAMAIC, AND ARABIC LANGUAGES.

By Richard Cull, F.S.A.

Read 5th November, 1872.

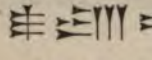
The stem words of the Assyrian, like those of the Hebrew language, are chiefly bisyllabic. Hebrew words are written from right to left by means of letters, three of which are required to write the consonants of the two syllables, and these are supplemented by signs called vowel points, some of which are written above the line of letters, some below, and some between them to express the vowels of the two syllables. By this method of writing the three consonants, as a unity, are perceived at a glance. Assyrian words are written from left to right, not by means of letters and vowel points, but by signs for syllables and words. By this method of writing, the three consonants are much less conspicuously displayed than in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic.

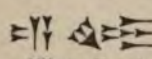
The term Assyrian language is adopted in this paper to include the Babylonian also.

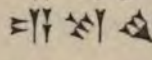
The verb is by far the most elaborated part of Assyrian speech. And there is one feature of the verb, the secondary, or ת conjugation, which is stated by all writers on Assyrian grammar to be peculiar to it, and to distinguish it from other Shemitic languages. Now, the object of this paper is to draw attention to some vestiges of ת conjugations found in the Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, and Arabic languages, and to indicate their value in Shemitic philology. But in order to discuss the evidence and nature of these vestiges, it is necessary to state the main facts of the ת conjugations in Assyrian.

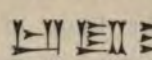
There are six conjugations in common use in the Assyrian, and connected with these primary conjugations are secondary conjugations formed by the insertion of ת between the first and second radicals. When the inserted ת begins a syllable, it is accompanied by its own vowel, which may be *a*, *e*, or *i*, as in the examples—

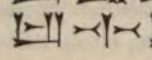
as-kan, I established.

 *as-ta-kan*, I established.

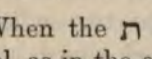
 *e-bir*, I crossed over.

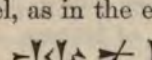
 *e-te-bir*, I crossed over.

 *ip-qi-id*, He visited.

 *ip-ti-qi-id*, He visited.

When the ת ends a syllable it is unaccompanied by a vowel, as in the example—

 *ik-nu-su*, They submitted.

 *kit-nu-su*, They were submissive.

In some verbs the ת is placed before the first radical. Dr. Hincks says,—"In most verbs defective in the second radical, the dental precedes the first radical in place of following it. Thus we have from בוא, in the aorist of I.t, *it-bu-ni*, instead of *ib-tu-ni*, they came on (90 Layard 63)."[1] The verb בוא, *to come*, *arrive*, is doubly defective, its middle radical ו being apt to yield up its consonant-sound and quiesce in the following vowel: and its third radical is also a weak letter.[2] "Concave verbs are not so numerous in Assyrian as in the cognate dialects."[3]

The Hebrew concave verb כון *to stand*, *stand upright*, *stand firmly*, *be established*, is found in Assyrian with the

[1] Hincks' Specimen Chapters of an Assyrian Grammar, Journ. Sac. Lit., 1855–6, p. 6.

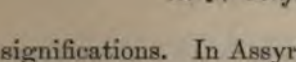
[2] Assyrian scholars may read with advantage Ḥayug's two treatises on Hebrew verbs, containing feeble and double letters, translated by Rev. J. W. Nutt, M.A., of the Bodleian.

[3] Assyrian Grammar, by Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford.

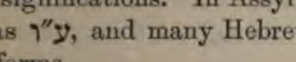
same significations. In Assyrian it is found as a verb ע"י, as well as ע"ו, and many Hebrew concave verbs are found in both forms.

u-ki-in, I established.

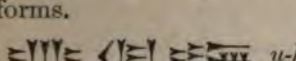
it-ku-nu, He established.

The first example belongs to the primary, and the second to the secondary, or ת conjugation, in which the ת is placed before the first radical of the theme. In *Ukin*, the middle radical (yod) has lost its consonant-power, and becomes the vowel *i;* and in *Itkunu*, the middle radical  (vaw) has lost its consonant-power and become the vowel *u*.

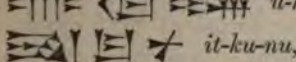
The secondary, or ת conjugation of Assyrian verbs were possessed of a vital power to originate derivative nouns, with the characteristic ת, as in the examples—

 *Pit-qu-du*, a Guardian,

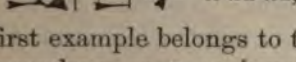
which is derived from the ת conjugation

 *ip-ti-qi-id*, He visits,

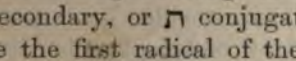
of the verb

 *ip-qi-id*, He visits.

And

 *Bi-it-lu-ḥu*, a Worshipper,

which is derived from the ת conjugation of the verb

 *ib-la-ḥu*, They revered.

I have not registered an example of the ת conjugation of Qal of this verb.

A large number of verbs have no secondary or ת conjugations, at least they have not been found in the inscriptions. It is as improbable that every verb had secondary conjugations, as that every verb had all the primary conjugations. It is well known that all the conjugations of every verb in the Hebrew language are not in use. And it is perhaps equally well known that the verb קטל *to kill*, which is adopted in several Hebrew grammars as a model of the Hebrew conjugation, is found only in Qal, while the verb פקד *to visit*, exists in all its conjugations in the Hebrew

Bible. In Assyrian, as in Hebrew, some conjugations are in more frequent use than others, and sufficient examples of any one verb cannot be found in the texts to construct a complete paradigm. Hebrew grammarians infer from examples of other verbs what the lacking forms of קטל ought to be, and thus complete the paradigm. Assyrian grammarians proceeding in the same way have constructed a paradigm of the verb *Sakan*, to Establish. Such a method in a language so well known as the Hebrew may be adopted, but even in Hebrew it is not unaccompanied with danger.[1] But in Assyrian the line between fact and inference should be broadly and strongly marked, at least until verbal forms are as well understood as in the Hebrew.

The main facts of the ת conjugations are accepted by all Assyrian scholars, and the present brief statement of those facts is sufficient for the objects of this paper.

The Hebrew Language.

The word מַשְׁתִּין occurs in 1 Samuel xxv, 23, 34; 1 Kings xiv, 10; xvi, 13; xxi, 21; and 2 Kings ix, 8; but only in the phrase מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר *to urine against the wall.* In order to rightly understand the form of the word, it must be studied in connection with the substantive שֵׁן *urine*, which occurs twice only in the Bible, both times in the plural, and both times with the same plural affix שֵׁינֵיהֶם *their urine*, 2 Kings xviii, 27, and in the repeated passage Isaiah xxxvi, 12. In both passages the קרי adopts the descriptive euphuism מֵימֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם, *waters of the legs.*

Early students of the Hebrew language often find it difficult to refer a derived word to its root, but this difficulty diminishes as they acquire a knowledge of the grammar. There are many words whose roots do not occur in the Bible, but the lexicographers insert the theoretical root in their lexicons, with some mark to distinguish them. The insertion of such roots is justified by the axiom, that every derivative must have been derived from a root, whether that root occur in the Bible or not, it being borne in mind that only a

[1] Hebrew Grammar, by Professor Lee, section 211.

portion of the Hebrew language is contained in the Bible. Now the lexicographers themselves have found a difficulty in referring the word מַשְׁתִּין to its root, and great difference of opinion exists as to its root, but the grammarians have ignored the existence of this word, and others of similar form, which occur in the Bible.

The subjoined tabular statement displays the opinions held by five distinguished lexicographers of the theoretical root of the Hiphil participle מַשְׁתִּין.

Buxtorf	states the root to be		שתן.
Simonis	"	"	שין.
Gesenius	"	"	שתן.
Lee	"	"	שתן.
Fürst	"	"	שוּן.

The grammatical difficulty is to derive the noun שִׁין and the participle מַשְׁתִּין from the same root. There is no doubt that the participle מַשְׁתִּין can be regularly derived from the root שתן, and it is equally doubtless that the noun שִׁין cannot be derived from it. The question to solve is, as to the origin of the ת in the participle. Fürst is the only one of the five who has endeavoured to solve the question. Under the leading word שוּן which he states to be unused, he says, "*Hiphil* הִשְׁתִּין (a form arising from the insertion of ת, for הֵשִׁין; participle מַשְׁתִּין),"—and then he goes on to state that the insertion of ת is found in certain other words. His solution then is, that the ת, which does not occur in Qal, is inserted in the Hiphil conjugation, and is therefore found in the Hiphil participle.

Although Simonis makes no formal statement of his attempt to solve the question, his reference of the participle to the root שין is evidence that he believed the ת to have been inserted in Hiphil. And thus there is high authority for the opinion, that a ת may be introduced into a derived conjugation of a verb, although there is none in its Qal. But whatever weight may attach to the opinion of these distinguished lexicographers, Hebraists know that the opinion is not only unsupported by, but contrary to the doctrines of Hebrew grammar, and therefore the opinion is to be rejected.

Assyrian scholars can readily solve the difficulty, for they see in this participle a vestige of the secondary conjugation of a verb. The Hiphil participle מַשְׁתִּין comes from the Hiphil secondary conjugation הֵשְׁתִּין, which is derived from the secondary conjugation of Qal שָׁתַן. Now שתן is the secondary conjugation either of שִׁין according to Simonis, or of שׁוּן according to Fürst, of which הֵשִׁין is the Hiphil, whence comes the noun שִׁין. Thus the noun is derived from the primary conjugation and the participle from the secondary conjugation of the same verb.

It remains to be noticed that שִׁין is a concave verb, and therefore the characteristic ת of the secondary conjugation, according to Assyrian usage, ought to be prefixed to the stem, but it is contrary to the genius of the Hebrew language for ת to precede a sibilant, and the violence done to the prefix הִת of the Hithpahel conjugation, by causing it to open and receive within it the first radical of פ sibilant verbs is well known, as a means to prevent such sequence.

The word נֶעֱתַם occurs once, Isaiah ix, 18, and no other part of the verb is found in the Bible. It is a Niphal form, and means *is burned, consumed*, which is the most ancient sense of the word, for it is rendered by the LXX *συνκέκαυται*, which suits the context. Buxtorf, however, after Kimchi, renders it *Obscurari*, but this does not suit the context. Modern lexicographers, including Gesenius, Lee, and Fürst, accept the sense of the LXX, and this sense is confirmed by the occurrence of the word in a Phœnician inscription, which Gesenius shows must mean *combustus est*.

The theoretical root is עתם. The Arabic cognate is غتم *æstus ingens*, as pointed out by Lee. Fürst derives the verb from the unused root עוּם, which is the source of עֵיָם *heat, glow*, Isaiah xi, 15, with a ת inserted. And he points out a similar derivation for the Arabic cognate.[1]

A careful study of the organic root in the cognates חָמַם, יָחַם will show that the ת is no part of it, and it being found in עָתַם could only come as the ת of the secondary conjugation.

[1] Heb. Lex. עתם.

The word צִנְתְּרֹת occurs in Zechariah iv, 12, and nowhere else in the Bible, *pipes, tubes.* The word is connected with צִנּוֹר which occurs twice, 2 Samuel v, 8, and Psalm xlii, 8, rendered *water-course* in the former, and *water-spouts* in the latter place in the authorised version.

Buxtorf refers the word צִנּוֹר to the theoretical root צנר. He refers צִנְתְּרֹת to no root, and does not connect it with צִנּוֹר. Simonis considers the word צִנְתְּרֹת to be a compound word, composed of צִנּוֹר *a canal*, and נְתַר *to flow.* It would be a hybrid word, Hebrew and Aramæan, but the word נְתַר does not occur in the sense of a liquid flowing.

Gesenius does not refer either word to a root.

Lee does not refer צִנּוֹר to a root. And of צִנְתְּרֹת he says, "The etymology is uncertain."

Fürst connects the two words, and offers an explanation of the ת. He derives both from the theoretical root צָנַר.

"Pihel I, צִנֵּר (not used) intensive of Kal, deriv. צִנּוֹר. Pihel II. צִנְתֵּר (with ת inserted) *to make hollow throughout, to deepen*, whence צִנְתָּרֶת; compare עִשְׁתֵּר I. (from עָשַׁר II.) and עִשְׁתֵּר II. (from עָשַׁר I.), belonging to עַשְׁתֶּרֶת. צִנְתָּרֶת (from צָנַר Pihel II. צִנְתֵּר, which see; only in pl. c. צִנְתְּרֹת after the form עַשְׁתְּרוֹת) *f.* a tube."

Buxtorf, Simonis, Gesenius, and Lee, were profound Hebrew scholars, and yet they failed to see the connection between the words צִנּוֹר and צִנְתְּרֹת. Fürst saw that connection, which they failed to see, and he correctly derived both substantives from the theoretical root צָנַר, but his explanation of the ת in צנתרת is to be rejected.

The word צִנּוֹר, *emissarium,* is a substantive derived from the theoretical Pihel צִנֵּר, of the theoretical Qal צָנַר. This ancient derivation cannot be doubted.

The word צִנְתְּרֹת *tubi, fistulæ* is a plural substantive derived from the theoretical Pihel צִנְתֵּר, of the theoretical Qal צָנְתַר, which is the secondary or ת conjugation of צָנַר.

Assyrian scholars will at once recognise a vestige of a ת conjugation in the word צִנְתְּרֹת, and see the true explanation of the ת in the word. They will notice its occurrence

after the second radical, while in Assyrian its ordinary place is between the first and second radicals, and exceptionally before the first. I have registered other instances of the insertion of ת between the second and third radicals, but too few safely to reason upon them, still it is probable, that as the ת is placed before the first radical in concave verbs in the Assyrian, for the sake of identification of the root, so it may after the second for a similar reason.

The word עַשְׁתֶּרֹת occurs in Deut. vii, 13; xxviii, 4, 18, 51, and each time in the phrase עַשְׁתֶּרֹת צֹאנֶךָ, which is translated "flocks of thy sheep" in the authorised version. The four passages in which the phrase occurs specify the blessings of abundance promised for obedience, and the curses of poverty for disobedience to the law. "And he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land, thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee. Thou shalt be blessed above all people: there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle." (Deut. vii, 13, 14.) The substance of this, with most of the details, is repeated in Deut. xxviii, 4. The curses in similar details are given in verses 18 and 51 of the same chapter.

The word עַשְׁתֶּרֹת is a feminine plural, in the construct state, and occurs nowhere else in connection with flock, or at all in the Bible, so that it may be said to occur but once. It cannot mean flocks, for that is expressed by the following word. שֶׂה is the Hebrew word for a sheep or a goat (Exodus xii, 5,) and has no plural, but צֹאן is used for the plural, or rather as a noun of multitude, for a flock of sheep or goats, as the case may be. This is all well known to Hebrew scholars, who have therefore good reason to reject this translation in the authorised version. A careful study of the context shows that some word denoting *produce*, *increase*, *riches*, *wealth*, or the like, is required. Luther felt this, and translated it *fruits*,—"die Früchte deiner Schaafe." Both Eichhorn and Simonis felt that such a word is required,

and take the word to be a compound of the Hebrew עָשַׁר *he was rich*, and its Aramaic cognate עְתַר, but this compound, although satisfactory for the sense, cannot be accepted. Professor Lee took it for a compound of the Arabic عَتَى *modum excessit*, and עֹשֶׁר wealth, but this compound, although also satisfactory for the sense, cannot be accepted as an explanation of the form. Gesenius introduces the idea of begetting, and translates the phrase, *veneres, amores gregis*. The requirement of the context, however, is not merely begetting, but the other elements necessary for the well-doing and increase of the flock, and the one is not put for the other in the history of Jacob's dealing with Laban's flock (Genesis xxx, 37, *et seq.*), besides which עָשַׁר does not signify *begot*, but *he was rich*. Fürst adopts the view of Gesenius, and, by means of linguistic manipulation of two imaginary roots, attributes the sense of begetting to עָשַׁר, which it does not bear in itself, nor in any of its derivatives in the Hebrew Bible.

The word עַשְׁתֹּרֹת is a derivative from the secondary or ת conjugation of the verb עָשַׁר *he was rich*. The corresponding word in Qal of the ת conjugation is עָשְׁתַר *he was rich*. And from this is regularly formed the feminine plural construct עַשְׁתֹּרֹת *riches*, which fully accounts for the form of the word, and supplies the sense demanded by the context.

Assyrian scholars will observe that the characteristic ת of the secondary conjugation stands between the second and third radicals, instead of its usual place between the first and second. It does so for the same euphonic reason that the ת of the Hebrew preformative הִת is placed after the first radical in stems whose first radical is שׁ.

Hebrew Proper Names.

The etymology of Hebrew proper names is a subject on which there is much divergence of opinion. The Hebrew language does not delight in compound appellative words, although so many of its proper names are compounds. The principles adopted for abbreviating the separate elements of

such compounds prior to their junction are very imperfectly understood. Some of these names appear to be formed of elements derived from secondary conjugations of verbs, and are therefore noticed here.

The word תּוֹלַד, the name of a city, occurs 1 Chron. iv, 29, and it is written אֶלְתּוֹלַד in Joshua xix, 4. The prefix אֶל, which appears to represent the Arabic article, is dropped in the later orthography. The word תּוֹלַד may be compared with תּוֹלֶדֶת *a genealogy*, as derived from יָלַד *to bear*. Both words are derivatives of the secondary conjugation of יָלַד, in which the ת is prefixed to the stem as in concave verbs.

The word אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל occurs in Joshua xv, 33, as the name of a city in Canaan, which, on the subjugation of the country by the Hebrews, was possessed by Judah, but afterwards was allotted to Dan (Joshua xix, 41). The Hebrews re-named some of the captured cities (Joshua xv, 13, 15, 60), but most of them appear to have retained their old names.

The city אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל retained its name (Judges xiii, 25), and originated the gentile noun אֶשְׁתָּאֻלִי *Eshtaulite*, (1 Chron. ii, 53).

Fürst says—"אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל (*hollow-way*, from שָׁאַל). As to the derivation, the word is a noun-form, which has arisen out of the conjugation constituted by אֵת־ (that may have been more frequent in the earlier period of the language, to judge by the Phœnician), and which is only preserved in some proper names."

The word שָׁאַל signifies *to ask*, in which sense it is found in Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Phœnician, and Assyrian. And it has no other root. Fürst probably had in his mind the substantive שַׁעַל *hollow of the hand, i.e. the palm* (Isaiah xi, 12), when he wrote the paragraph. And he must have forgotten that he had treated of certain appellatives, which he describes to be constituted by אֵת, which I have referred to above.

The word אֶשְׁתְּמוֹעַ occurs in Joshua xxi, 14, as the name

of a city of Canaan, which appears to have retained its name after the subjugation of the country by the Hebrews. It is also written אֶשְׁתְּמֹה, as stated by Fürst, but not in Van der Hooght's Bible.

Fürst refers the first form to a root שָׁמַע *to be high*, and the second to a root שָׁמָה *to be high*, but both roots he states to be unused, and from these, with an inserted ת, he derives the two forms of the word.

Scholars may well hesitate to receive this derivation, for—

(1.) The word is not Hebrew, it is probably Phœnician, and far too little is known of Phœnician to justify any philological speculations on proper names.

(2.) The root שָׁמַע does not signify *to be high*, but *to hear*.

(3.) The form אתשמה is not to be considered as a variant form, but as an error of a copyist.

(4.) The root שָׁמָה does not exist in Hebrew. It is, however, a possible root, and may be the source of the plural noun שָׁמַיִם *heavens*. If so, it is cognate with ܫܡܐ *altus fuit*.

(5.) These are not roots which theory demands for derivatives of known definite senses, but are imaginary roots for noun-forms of which the senses are unknown.

(6.) And no topographical reason can be urged for the assumed sense, for the site of the city is unknown.

The word אֶשְׁתּוֹן occurs as the proper name of a man in a genealogical list, 1 Chron. iv, 11. This is a Hebrew word, which Fürst derives from a root שׁוּן, which he states to be unused, but allied to the roots שָׁאַן and שָׁהַן *to rest, be at ease*, with ת inserted. The root שׁוּן in this sense is unknown in the Hebrew, and is not a theoretical, but an imaginary root.

The word עַשְׁתֹּרֶת occurs in the Hebrew Bible both as a personal, and as a local name. As a personal name it first occurs in the time of the Judges, soon after the death of Joshua (Judges ii, 13), but as a local name it occurs in the time of Abram, for before Chedorlaomer king of Elam and

his confederates made their raid upon Sodom and Gomorrah, "they smote the Rephaim in עַשְׁתֹּרֶת קַרְנַיִם Ashteroth Karnaim," *i.e.* the two-horned Ashteroth (Genesis xiv, 5).

The word has presented much difficulty to translators, but more to etymologists. The form of the word is feminine plural, but it is foreign to the Hebrew language, although so well known in Canaan, whence it probably first came to the Hebrews. It is taken as a feminine singular by the translators of the authorised version, but continental translators, including Luther and Diodati, take it as a masculine singular; thus, in the passage, "they have forsaken me, and have worshipped Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians" (1 Kings xi, 33), is rendered by Luther, "*Astoreth den Gott der Zidonier.*" The Hebrew phrase עַשְׁתֹּרֶת אֱלֹהֵי צִדֹנִין cannot be translated without doing grammatical violence to some part of it; and a parallel phrase עַשְׁתֹּרֶת שִׁקֻּץ צִדֹנִים in the passage "which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians" (2 Kings xxiii, 13), does not aid in solving the difficulty.

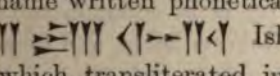
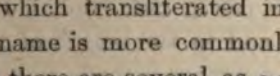
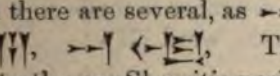
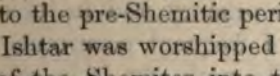
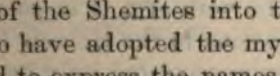
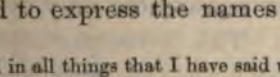
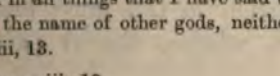
The Hebrew Bible of itself supplies no evidence beyond the form of the word to determine whether it is a god or a goddess, whether one or many. The Bible in its simple grandeur condemns the worship of other gods, and some by name, amongst these is Ashtoreth, but is silent as to the character of the worship, and the nature of the person worshipped.

The LXX write the word ἡ Ἀστάρτη, which is a transliteration, as near as the Greek alphabet allows, of the Hebrew עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, but the word was already current in Greek literature in exactly the same form, from a transliteration of the Phœnician עשתרת. Thus the LXX took the Hebrew word to be a feminine singular, precisely as the earlier Greek writers had taken the Phœnician word.

Some Hebrew lexicographers identify the name of the goddess with the appellative עַשְׁתֹּרֶת of Deut. vii, 13, while others deem them to be distinct words. Gesenius takes it to be a Shemitic form of the Persian ستاره *sitareh*, a star, while Fürst identifies it with the appellative.

The recovery of the Assyrian language has opened up to us a knowledge of the early Shemite Pantheon, as compiled by native authors, who were actual worshippers of those gods and goddesses in their respective temples. In those inscriptions we read much of Ishtar, the Ashteroth of the Bible, as written by her worshippers.

The scanty notices of early Shemite paganism found in the Hebrew Bible, and the sketches of Greek and Latin writers on the religion of the Phœnicians have been explored, analysed, and discussed by profound scholars with but unsatisfactory results. The orthodox Hebrew, obeying the law of Moses, never unnecessarily mentioned even the names of other gods,[1] and when so named, it was often accompanied by some word expressive of his disgust.[2] The Greeks and Romans appear to have known but little of foreign religions, and saw Mars and Venus in the Pantheon of the Phœnicians, but a fuller knowledge of the old Shemite Pantheon causes Assyrian scholars to doubt such identifications. The extent and value of the Assyrian and Babylonian records brought to light, by the excavations made in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, are known only to the few scholars who have studied them. These records contain much information concerning Ishtar, the Ashteroth of the Bible.

The name written phonetically in Assyrian cuneiform is  Ish-ta-ar, or  Ish-tar, which transliterated into Hebrew letters is עִשְׁתָּר. But the name is more commonly expressed by monograms, of which there are several, as  ,  ,  ,  ,  , This monogrammatic writing belongs to the pre-Shemitic period of Babylonia, so that the goddess Ishtar was worshipped in early Babylonia before the advent of the Shemites into the country. The Assyrians appear to have adopted the mythology of Akkad, and they preferred to express the names of their deities in the mono-

[1] "And in all things that I have said unto you be circumspect: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth."—Exodus xxiii, 13.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii, 13.

grams of Akkad, mixed with their phonetic writing, down to the latest times.

Ishtar is a goddess of great power, as she is "goddess of Heaven and earth," and of high dignity, as she is daughter of Assur (the chief god of Assyria), and sister of Marduk. She was the tutelary goddess of several cities, as of אֶרֶךְ *Ereck* (a city mentioned with אַכַּד *Akkad*, in Genesis x, 10), a most ancient city. The Assyrian pronunciation of these Akkadian monograms is Ishtar, but their Akkadian pronunciation is unknown. It is, however, now certain that the etymology of the word עַשְׁתֹּרֶת must be sought outside the Hebrew language, and the word, as Gesenius thought, may not be Shemitic. And therefore the views of Fürst are to be rejected.

Hebrew lexicons contain many words, both verbs and nouns, which belong to the secondary or ת conjugations of concave verbs, and which are placed under the letter ת, as תָּכַן, which is the secondary or ת conjugation of כּוּן. Some lexicographers describe them to be cognate words, others describe כּוּן as the root of the derivative תָּכַן, but all assume the ת to be radical.

The verb כּוּן, both in its primary and in its secondary or ת conjugations, is of frequent occurrence both in Assyrian and in Hebrew. The verb כּוּן is in common use in all its primary conjugations in the Hebrew Bible, and its secondary or ת conjugations are also in use in Qal, Niphal, Pihel and Puhal. It is unnecessary to add to the length of the paper by quoting the examples, as reference is made to a sufficient number in the lexicons under the word תָּכַן.

The verb בּוֹא, both in its primary and in its secondary or ת conjugations, is also of frequent occurrence both in Assyrian and in Hebrew. The verb בּוֹא is in common use in most of its primary conjugations in the Hebrew Bible, but its secondary conjugations are represented only by the derivative feminine noun תְּבוּאָה. This is the participle in Qal, so that the primary conjugation in Qal must have had a secondary or ת conjugation, whence the ת participle is derived.

It is one thing to describe such pairs of words as כּוּן and תָּכַן, whether as cognates, or as a further development of the root by means of ת, but it is a very different thing to account for the presence of the ת. Hebrew lexicographers, from early times down to and including Fürst, have vainly endeavoured to satisfy scholars by such descriptions, but have not even attempted to show why stems should be further developed by a ת in preference to any other letter. Every student of Hebrew could see that the stem כּוּן is enlarged to תָּכַן, by prefixing a ת to the first radical, and he desired the profound lexicographer, or grammarian to inform him what he means by a stem being developed, and why by a ת. He asks, is prefixing a ת to כּוּן enlarging it by development?

The fact is, that the profoundest Hebrew scholars, such men as Fürst, could not account for this ת, until the recovery of the long-lost Assyrian language enabled them to do so: and no Hebrew scholar appears to have applied this knowledge of the Assyrian to the elucidation of the Hebrew language. The existence of ת conjugations secondary to the primary conjugations of Assyrian verbs suggested to me some years ago to search for vestiges of such secondary con jugations in Hebrew, and it was not until the discovery of some of the vestiges already discussed that search was made for the ת conjugations of concave verbs, which I inferred would be found in the lexicons under ת, where I found them registered, each with a reference to another stem described either as the root, or as a cognate.

Examples of concave verbs are subjoined, with some derivatives of their ת conjugations, the object in view is not to supply a list of them, but merely to quote enough to justify the statements concerning them.

קוּם to Stand up, to Stand up against.

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תקוּם, or תקם, but as a verb it does not occur in the Bible. The feminine noun תְּקוּמָה Power of Standing, is derived from the Pihel secondary conjugation. And it is noteworthy that the Pilel form קוֹמֵם has a secondary form, whence is derived תְּקוֹמֵם, an Adversary.

The verb in its Shaphel primary conjugation occurs in Assyrian historical inscriptions (Tiglath-Pileser vii, 103), and also derivative nouns of the secondary or ת conjugations, as [illegible] *Tuk-ma-te*, Opponents (Sargon 25).

רוּם to be High, raised Aloft.

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תרום, or תרם, but as a verb does not occur in the Bible. The feminine noun תְּרוּמָה, a Heave offering, is derived from the Hiphil secondary or ת conjugation. The Pihel conjugation of רוּם is of the Pilel form רוֹמֵם, to Raise, and from the secondary or ת conjugation of this form is derived the masculine noun תְּרוֹמֵם, Elevation.

בוּן, to Perceive, Understand.

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תבון, or תבן, but as a verb it does not occur in the Bible. The feminine noun תְּבוּנָה, *understanding, skill*, is derived from the Pihel secondary or ת conjugation.

נוּב, to Grow (of plants).

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תנוב, or תנב, but as a verb it does not occur in the Bible, The feminine noun תְּנוּבָה, *fruit, produce of plants*, is derived from the Pihel secondary or ת conjugation. The regular Pihel of the verb, however, is not extant, for the only Pihel now found in the Bible is that of the Pilel form נוֹבֵב.

שׁוּק, to Desire.

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תשוק, תשק, but which as a verb does not occur in the Bible. The feminine noun תְּשׁוּקָה, *desire, longing*, is derived from the Pihel secondary or ת conjugation.

נוּם, to Slumber, Fall Asleep.

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תנום, or תנם, but which as a verb does not occur in the Bible. The feminine noun תְּנוּמָה, *slumber*, is derived from the Pihel secondary or ת conjugation, exactly as נוּמָה, Slumber, is derived from the Pihel primary conjugation.

רוּעַ to Shout, make a Noise.

The secondary or ת conjugation of which is תרוע, or תרע, but which as a verb does not occur in the Bible. The feminine noun תְּרוּעָה, *shouting*, is derived from the Pihel secondary or ת conjugation. The Pihel primary conjugation is not extant in the Bible.

The secondary conjugations of the Hebrew language, like those of the Assyrian, are built up by the insertion of ת in the stem. The vestiges to which I have drawn attention supply indisputable evidence of the existence of such conjugations at some remote period in the language. The secondary conjugations of concave verbs are built up in both languages by prefixing the ת to the stem. I have referred to concave stems enlarged by an initial ת, which are registered in the lexicons under ת, with their roots added, but the relationship of the root and its derivative not understood by the lexicographer. I have now to draw attention to other than concave stems, which are enlarged by initial ת, also registered in the lexicons under ת, and also not understood by the lexicographers, but which are derivatives of the secondary conjugations of the verbs.

The verb הָלַךְ *to Walk*, is as common in Assyrian as it is in Hebrew. The ת of the secondary conjugation in Assyrian is inserted between the first and second radicals, but in Hebrew it is prefixed to the first radical, as in the feminine derivative noun תַּהֲלֻכוֹת *Processions*, from הָלַךְ *to Walk*.

The noun תַּהֲלֻכוֹת is not derived direct from the verb הָלַךְ, but from its secondary or ת conjugation תהלך. The difference of form is well displayed by writing the Assyrian in Hebrew letters.

Hebrew הלך, secondary conjugation תהלך.
Assyrian הלך, „ „ התלך.

The difference may not have been great to the ear, for the weak letter ה would be scarcely audible in either example, and in the noun תַּהֲלֻכוֹת it is pointed with a substitute of Sh'wa, so that it does not form a syllable.

The verb תָּאַב *to desire, long for*, is the secondary conjugation of אָבָה. Fürst says, "The stem is enlarged by

the initial ת from אָבַד;"[1] and elsewhere he says, "verbs פ"א often passing into פ"ת."[2] Fürst does not attempt to account for the ת, but Assyrian scholars can have no difficulty in accounting for it. The verb תאב occurs in the first person preterite תָּאַבְתִּי twice in Psalm cxix, 40, 174.

The feminine noun תַּרְבּוּת, and its variant תַּרְבִּית, are feminine nouns derived from the secondary conjugation of the verb רָבָה *to increase in number or size.* The verb רָבָה occurs in the Assyrian language, and the ת of its secondary conjugation is also prefixed to the stem, as is shown by the derived noun tar-bit, *growth*, which, written in Hebrew letters, is תַּרְבִּית. The Assyrian and Hebrew are identical.

Fürst, speaking of תָּרַף from רָפָה says,—"out of which it is developed by ת; many stems פ"ת coinciding with ל"ה."[3]

The ת of the secondary conjugation is prefixed to the stem of some perfect verbs as גָּמַל *to recompense*, and from its secondary conjugation is derived the masculine noun תַּגְמוּל, *a recompense.* And it is of great interest to notice that a parallel noun derived from the primary conjugation exists גְּמוּל, which is also masculine.

The verb לָבַשׁ *to clothe*, has a secondary conjugation by the ת prefixed to the stem, whence is derived the feminine noun תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת *a garment.* The verb לָבַשׁ occurs also in the Assyrian language, but the ת of its secondary conjugation is inserted between the first and second radicals, lat-bu-su, *they clothed or covered.* The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., is the only writer on Assyrian grammar who has drawn attention to the structure of the secondary conjugation of Assyrian verbs by prefixing the ת to the root.[4] It is beyond the scope of my paper to discuss the Assyrian verbs, which are referred to only for the light they reflect on the secondary conjugations of verbs in the Hebrew language, and I have no intention to intrude a lexicon of all these secondary conjugations of the Hebrew language on the Society, under guise of a paper explanatory of their forms.

[1] Heb. Lex. sub voce תאב. [2] Ibid. תרא. [3] Ibid. תרף.
[4] Assyrian Grammar, p, 110.

The Phœnician Language.

The fragments of the Phœnician language which are known to us consist of—

a. Inscriptions written by natives in the Phœnician character; and

β. Portions of dialogue in the Pœnulus of Plautus.

A brief account of each will be given.

a. Inscriptions written by Natives in the Phœnician Character.

These inscriptions are very difficult to read and translate, from the following circumstances:—

1. The characters are difficult, for some are much alike, as those for מ and ש; and ב, ד, and ר.
2. The Phœnicians did not group the letters into words.
3. The consonants only are written.
4. An incompleted word at the end of one line is carried on to the next line without a mark to show that the word is incomplete.

These circumstances allow great latitude to the student in grouping the letters into words, and consequently affect the translation. The short votive tablets are of course less affected than the long inscriptions of Sidon and Marseilles. There is much agreement in all the translations, and those of the profoundest Hebrew scholars differ chiefly in details. My inquiry is limited to the vestiges of ת conjugations which are obvious to an Assyrian scholar.

The word נעתמא occurs in a votive inscription which has been translated and discussed by Gesenius, who identifies the word with נָעֲתַם of Isaiah ix, 18.[1] He rightly describes the word as the third person feminine of the Niphal preterite, and translates it *combustus est.*

I have shown under the Hebrew word נָעֲתַם, that the ת is the characteristic of the secondary conjugation, that the Qal secondary conjugation is עתם of the Qal primary conjugation עום.

[1] Script. Ling. Phœn. Monumenta, p. 452.

The final א Gesenius shows to be a feminine form interchangeable with הָ, as עבדה and עבדא are both used as feminines of עַבְדָּ.[1]

The word מסתגר occurs in the 29th inscription from Kitium, contained in Gesenius' great work. It is a votive inscription, which he has translated and discussed.

Gesenius takes the word to be the Hithpahel participle of סגר, *clausit.*[2] The verb סָגַר, *to surround, enclose, shut in,* is a well-known verb in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. The cognate סחר in Assyrian is also well known in the same sense. The sense *clausit* then may be accepted as the sense of the verb in Phœnician. The word is doubtless a participle, but the word cannot bear a Hithpahel sense in the passage, and is not generally accepted.

Fürst rejects it, and considers the verb to be like certain Hebrew verbs constituted by אָת.[3] These verbs and their derivatives I have shown to be secondary or ת conjugations of principal verbs. And the participle מסתגר is derived from the secondary conjugation סתגר of the primary conjugation סגר, *to shut in.*

β. Portions of Dialogue in the Pœnulus of Plautus.

These portions of dialogue are difficult to read from the following circumstances, although there is a free Latin version annexed.

1. The words are written in Roman letters, as nearly as those letters could represent Phœnician words to a Roman ear. The Roman alphabet, however, could very imperfectly represent Shemitic words, for—
   - *α.* ה and ח are represented by H.
   - *β.* שׂ, שׁ, ס, ז, and צ are represented by S, sometimes by Z.
   - *γ.* ט and ת are represented by T.
   - *δ.* כ, ק, and sometimes ח are represented by C.

[1] Script. Ling. Phœn. Monumenta, p. 440. [2] Ibid. p. 150.
[3] Furst's Heb. Lex. sub voce אִשְׁתָּאל.

2. The letters are not grouped into words.
3. The vowel-sounds of the Phœnician are expressed by the ordinary vowels of the Latin, as pronounced by Plautus, of course the pronunciation of his age.
4. The dialogue has been corrupted, probably by the carelessness of scribes, for the text varies in different editions.

These circumstances occasion diversity in the reading and translation, but the foundation was laid by Bochart, and he has been followed in the main. My inquiry is limited to the occurrence of ת conjugations of verbs in the text.

The word אֶשְׁתְּמֵם, which is a verb in Qal, signifying, *I am terrified*, occurs in Pœnulus iii, 23. I have not met with the word שָׁמַם in the Phœnician inscriptions, but it is a well-known Hebrew word, signifying *I am terrified*. Assyrian scholars will readily admit אֶשְׁתְּמֵם to be the ת conjugation of the verb שָׁמַם.

Fürst, under the Hebrew word אֶשְׁתָּאֹל, says,—"As to the derivation, the word is a noun form which has arisen out of the conjugation of the verb constituted by אִתְּ (that may have been more frequent in the earlier period of the language, to judge by the Phœnician), and which is only preserved in some proper names. On this conjugation of the verb constituted by אִתְּ compare the Phœnician אִסְתְּגַר, *to be shut up* (Kit. 29, 2), the futures אֶשְׁתְּמֵם (estimim) *I am terrified* (Pœn. iii, 23), אֶשְׁתְּאַל (ysthiyal) *I request* (ib. i, 2), beside אֶשְׁאַל (ysyl) *I ask* (ib. i, 10) אֶתְיְדַע (ityada) *I am perceived* (ib. i, 8), אֶתְעֲלַם (etalam) *I am grown up* (ib. iii, 23)." And he adds, "of the Hebrew words, אֶשְׁתָּאֹל, אֶשְׁתּוֹן, אֶשְׁתְּמֹה, and אֶשְׁתְּמֹע should therefore be referred to שָׁאֹל, שׁוֹן, שָׁמֹה, and שָׁמֹע."

Fürst then recognises the inserted ת, as he calls it, in both the Hebrew and Phœnician languages. The recognition of the form is a great advance in knowledge, beyond all preceding grammarians and lexicographers. But he does not appear to hold this new knowledge very firmly, nor to appreciate its extent, for in the passage just quoted, in speaking of the Hebrew proper name אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל, he says the ת form "is

only preserved in some proper names." And yet he has referred to it in the Hebrew verbs עָתַם *to burn*, עָשַׁר *to be united*, שׁוּן *to rest*, צָנַר *to deepen*, שׁוּן *to flow;* and he has referred to certain Phœnician verbs, which I have just noticed above.

Fürst is in error in affirming that the insertion of the ת "has arisen out of the conjugation of the verb constituted by אֵת־, for in no case does an א appear in the words under consideration, but in every instance the ת alone with its subscribed vowel, or a sh'wa is found. There appears to be no evidence for the אֵת as the origin of the ת in such forms. Assyrian scholars to whom the form is familiar have no opinion as to the origin of the ת in Assyrian, and of course none for its origin in any other Shemitic dialect; indeed they could not have, for the present memoir is the first announcement of the existence of ת conjugations in Hebrew, Phœnician, and other Shemitic dialects, like those found in the Assyrian.

The word אֶשְׁאַל, which is a verb in Qal, signifying *I ask*, occurs in Pœnulus i, 10, and the word אֶשְׁתְּאַל, which is a verb in the ת conjugation of Qal, occurs in Pœnulus i. 2. Gesenius, in his commentary on this inscription, renders the former by *interrogabo*, and the latter by the German *erbeten werden.*[1] Thus Gesenius sees that both words belong to the same verb; he must have seen that both are in Qal, yet he draws no attention to the ת between the first and second radicals, and offers his translation of אֶשְׁתְּאַל by *erbeten werden*, without reference to an authority in justification. The occurrence of this ת indeed appears to have made so little impression on his mind, that he ignores the existence of the form in his *Grammatica Phœnicia et Punica,*[2] and omits both words in his index or alphabetical list of Phœnician words.[3]

Fürst, under the word אֶשְׁתְּאַל in his Hebrew lexicon, refers to certain Phœnician words "constituted by אֵת," including the verb אֶשְׁתְּאַל, which he rightly connects with

[1] Script. Ling. Phœn. Monumenta, p. 370. [2] Ibid. p. 430.
[3] Ibid. p. 470.

אֶשְׁאַל, and appears to think there is a distinction in sense between them, which he endeavours to express by rendering אֶשְׁאָל *I ask*, and אֶשְׁתְּאַל *I request*. I quote from Dr. Davidsons' translation of the third edition of Fürst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, 1867. Dr. Davidson knows, and most probably Dr. Fürst does too, that the verbs *to ask* and *to request* are duplicate words of the same sense, the former being of Anglo-Saxon and the latter of Latin origin. If, therefore, the two Phœnician words differ in sense, that difference is not expressed by the two English words adopted to effect it.

Assyrian scholars in אֶשְׁתְּאַל will recognise the ת conjugation of אֶשְׁאַל *to ask*.

The word אֶתְיְדַע occurs in Pœnulus i, 8. Fürst in explaining the ת of אֶשְׁתְּאַל in his Hebrew lexicon, cites the Phœnician word אֶתְיְדַע, as one similarly constituted by אֵת, but under the Hebrew יָדַע, he refers to the Phœnician, and cites the same word אתידע with an entirely different explanation of the ת, for he states the word to be of the "Itpeal" conjugation. He does not offer this as a correction of, and in substitution of his previously stated opinion. He gives no hint of a change of opinion, but leaves the two statements in all their inconsisteney to his readers. The ת belongs either to the verbal root, or to the characteristic of the conjugation. It cannot belong to both, and when so profound a Hebrew scholar as Fürst is in a difficulty, it may safely be inferred to be great. An "Itpeal" conjugation is Aramaic, and the Phœnician verbs are not conjugated after the Aramaic, but after the Hebrew model, "*In variis verbi declinatibus lingua Phœnicia ab Hebræa nihil differt*,"[1] says Gesenius, and no Phœnician scholar dissents. The statement, then, of Fürst, that the word אֶתְיְדַע is an Ithpeal, is to be rejected.

The ת of אתידע belongs to the root, and shows it to be the secondary or ת conjugation of יָדַע. The ת of the ת conjugations in Assyrian is mostly placed between the first and second radicals. It occupies the same position in the

[1] Script. Ling. Phœn. Monumenta, p. 438.

examples which I have quoted from the Hebrew and the Phœnician. But in this example the ת precedes the first radical, but it may not have preceded it in Phœnician utterance, or in native Phœnician writing. Now if Plautus, unaided by Phœnician orthography, simply endeavoured to express in Roman letters the sound of the word as he heard it, the ת might either follow or precede the first radical, and the two sounds given to the word would be so alike, that few but a practised Phœnician ear would distinguish them. I subjoin the two orthographies—

אֶתְיְדַע, as written in Plautus.

אֶיְתְּדַע, as written by a Phœnician.

Considering the well known facts of the Assyrian orthography of the ת conjugations of Assyrian verbs, and those Hebrew and Phœnician ת conjugations to which I have drawn attention, I have no hesitation in correcting the orthography in Pœnulus to אֶיְתְּדַע.

The word אֶתְעֲלַם occurs in Pœnulus iii, 23. Fürst states the ת of the Hebrew word אֶשְׁתָּאֹל to be inserted and cites the word אתעלם, among other Phœnician examples of the inserted ת. He omits, however, to state that the ת is inserted before the first radical, while in all the words, except אתידע as cited by him, it is inserted between the first and second radicals.

Gesenius, Fürst, and Shemitic scholars in general, consider the most ancient pronunciation of ע, both in Phœnician and Hebrew, to have been *o* = the Greek *ω*. The Hebrew ע had two sounds, as shown by the transliteration of Hebrew proper names in the LXX, who represented one by the *spiritus lenis*, as עֶפְרוֹן *ἐφρων*, the other by *γ*, as עַזָּה, *γάζα*, and these indicate the *ain* and *ghain* of the Arabic language as the two sounds. Gesenius states the *γ* sound of ע to be rare both in Hebrew and Phœnician.[1] The ע of עֶלֶם *a youth* (1 Sam. xx, 22), is from עָלַם, of which אָלַם is a variant, which indicates the ע to be pronounced soft.

[1] Script. Ling. Phœn. Monumenta, p. 430.

The ע having the soft sound, it is quite clear that the pronunciation of the word to the speaker and its sound to the hearer would scarcely be affected, whether the ת of the secondary conjugation were inserted before or after the first radical. This fact may easily be verified by pronouncing the word as written in both ways.

אֶתְעְלַם as transliterated from the text of Plautus.

אֶעְתְּלַם as written by a Phœnician.

In Assyrian פ״ע verbs the characteristic ת of the secondary conjugations, as in perfect verbs, is inserted between the first and second radicals. It is so inserted in the word נעתם which occurs both in Hebrew and Phœnician. And therefore it is better to infer that Plautus or his transliterator is in error, than to suppose an exceptional orthography by a Phœnician writer.

The Chaldee Language.

The Hebrew participle מַשְׁתִּין has been proved to be derived from the secondary conjugation of שׁוּן, and reference made to the Chaldee word שְׁתַּן.

In Buxtorf's Rabinnical Dictionary, certain forms of the word are registered which do not occur in the Bible.

שׁתן, הִשְׁתִּין, *Mingere, Urinam reddere.*

שָׁתָּן, *Urina.*

הַשְׁתָּנָה, *Mictio, Urina, Urinatio.*

These are all forms of the secondary or ת conjugation of the verb שׁוּן. The idea that שָׁתַּן appears as a new verb in the Mishna and Talmud is to be rejected.

The Chaldee word עַרְטִילַי *naked*, is derived from the secondary conjugation of the verb עְרַל *to be naked*, which is the cognate of the Hebrew עָרַל *to be naked.* A ט is sometimes substituted for a ת, as the characteristic of the secondary conjugation in the Assyrian, and this example shows that such a substitution may have place in the Chaldee.

The Chaldee concave verb דּוּר, like those of the Assyrian and Hebrew languages, has the characteristic ת of its secondary conjugation prefixed to the stem, as appears from the feminine derivative תְּדִירָא *continuance, duration.*

THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE.

The Syriac word ܥܪܛܝܠܝ *naked*, is the same as the Chaldee עַרְטִילַי, and what is said of the latter is applicable to the former. The word is a derivative of the secondary conjugation of ܥܪܠ. Fürst cites the word as having a ܛ (ט) inserted in the root.[1]

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

The Arabic word غَتَم *æstus ingens* is cognate with the Hebrew עתם, and is derived from the secondary conjugation of غَامَ *to burn, consume*, the characteristic ت being inserted after the first radical.

The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., has already drawn attention to the characteristic ت of the secondary conjugation being prefixed to some stems.[2]

I have cited examples of the secondary conjugation of Hebrew verbs in Qal, Niphal, Pihel, and Hiphil, built up by a ת, either inserted in, or prefixed to the root. I have shown by examples that secondary conjugations exist in the Phœnician, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic languages. Hence there is abundant evidence, that secondary conjugations are not confined to the Assyrian language, but constitute an essential part of Shemitic speech.

Dr. Oppert treats the ת of the secondary conjugations in Assyrian as a servile. If it be a servile in Assyrian, it must be a servile in Hebrew and the other dialects. Fürst, evidently unacquainted with Assyrian, speaks of an enlargement of the root by אֵת, so that he takes the ת to be radical,

[1] Heb. Lex. sub voce שׁוּן.

[2] Assyrian Grammar, p. 110.

as do all the lexicographers who register such secondary forms as תּוֹלֶדֶת under ת in their lexicons. The discussion of the question whether the ת is radical or servile, I postpone.

The letter ת, whether radical or servile, is of course a fragment of some word, and represents some value in the conjugations. It cannot be the Aramaic אִת, for that has a passive sense, and the word is yet unknown which the Aramaic preformant represents. I postpone also the discussion of this question.

COINCIDENCE OF THE HISTORY OF EZRA WITH THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF NEHEMIAH

By Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh, M.A., F.R.S.L.

Read 4th February, 1873.

Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes and Amestris, follows his father in the Canon of Ptolemy, B.C. 465, at Babylon; but he must have been king some years earlier in Persia (probably assumed into coregency by his father), for Thucydides speaks of him as reigning at the time of Themistocles' flight to Persia, B.C. 474–3.[1] Yet it is said that he was but a boy when his father was murdered, and that he did not actually take the throne until some months afterwards.

It is generally admitted that Xerxes is the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther; and, (although this does not affect the question which is the object of this paper), I think that Amestris is no other than Esther. The name of Amestris is assuredly Shemitic, אמאסתר,[2] and contains that of the Assyrian goddess Istar, as that of מרדכי contains the name of Maruduk: these facts can excite no surprise, when we consider that there is not a trace of the religion of Israel in the whole Book of Esther. The time of Amestris is the time of Esther. The massacre instigated by Esther in B.C. 474, of 800 men in Shushan, and 75,000 in the provinces, surpasses everything that has been related of the cruelties of Amestris, and would be more than enough to brand her memory in Persia with a stigma of everlasting hatred.

The union of Ahasuerus and Esther was in Tebeth (December) B.C. 479. If Esther and Amestris be one, the

[1] I. 98, 137

[2] Analogous to אמעשתרת.

birth of Artaxerxes might be in Tishri or Marchesvan B.C. 478, and he would be in the thirteenth year of his age at the time of the murder of his father. A collation of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah shows that there were two computations of his regnal years, and that the Persian, used by Nehemiah, was thirteen years in advance of the Babylonian, used by Ezra: as if, (a supposition by no means unlikely), he had had the royal dignity conferred on him at his birth. This collation clearly establishes the fact that Nehemiah accompanied Ezra to Jerusalem.

EZRA.	NEHEMIAH.
	ch. i, v. 1.] In the 20th year, in the month Chisleu (November), Nehemiah was in Shushan. Hanani brought him intelligence that his brethren in Jerusalem were in great affliction, and that the wall was broken down. He set himself to fast and pray, that he might find grace with the king.
ch. vii, v. 15.] In the 7th year of Artaxerxes, on the 1st day of the month Nisan, Ezra set out from Babylon, ch. vii, v. 11.] bearing a letter from the king authorising the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and commanding the treasurers beyond the river to give him silver, wheat, wine, oil, and salt, for the service of the temple in Jerusalem.	ch. ii, v. 1.] In the 20th year of Artaxerxes, in the month Nisan, he made request to ch. ii, v. 3.] the king (the queen also sitting by him) for permission to go and build Jerusalem. The king granted him letters of protection to the governors beyond the river, and a letter to the keeper of the royal forest for timber for the gates of the palace, and the wall, and his own house. (As this is not said to have
ch. viii, v. 15.] He gathered his company together to the river	

EZRA.	NEHEMIAH.
that runneth to Ahava, and abode in tents 3 days. He found that they had no Levites in their company, and he sent for some to Iddo at Casiphia.	occurred at Shushan, it may have been at Babylon).
ch. viii, v. 21.] He found also that he needed the protection of a band of soldiers and horsemen, for which he had been ashamed to ask the king, so they fasted	
ch. viii, v. 23.] and besought God for this, and their prayer was heard.	ch. ii, v. 9.] The king had sent captains of the army and horsemen with him.
ch. viii, v. 36.] He departed from Ahava on the 12th day of Nisan.	
He arrived in Jerusalem on the 1st day of	He came to Jerusalem (as we shall see) on the
ch. vii, v. 8.] Ab, and abode there	ch. ii, v. 11.] 1st day of Ab, and was
ch. viii, v. 32.] 3 days.	there 3 days. During this time he surveyed the walls by night.
ch. viii, v. 36.] On the 4th day the king's commission was delivered to the king's lieutenants.	ch. ii, v. 18.] Then (on the 4th day) he told the rulers and the people the king's commission, and exhorted them to begin the work of building the wall. The work was begun, and
	vi, ch. 15. v.] finished on the 25th of Elul, in 52 days. (It had, therefore, been commenced on the 4th of Ab; consequently Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem on the 1st of Ab).

EZRA.	NEHEMIAH.
	He made his brother Hanani, and Hananiah, rulers of Jerusalem, and designing to make an assembly of nobles, and rulers, and people, he ch. vii, v. 6.] found a register of those who returned with Zerubbabel.
ch. ix, v. 9.] Ezra gave thanks to God before an assembly of the people, because the temple and the wall were built.	ch. viii, v. 1.] On the 1st day of Tisri, Ezra read the law before all the people from morning until noon, and the Feast of Tabernacles was kept.

It is evident, then, that Ezra set out first on the journey, that Nehemiah joined him at Ahava, with the escort for which he had prayed, and that they came together to Jerusalem; but Ezra, coming from Babylon, calls it the seventh year, and Nehemiah, commencing his story at Shushan, the twentieth. If Ezra's computation was from the date of Artaxerxes' accession at Babylon, about July B.C. 465, the date of the journey was Nisan B.C. 458; and as this month and Chisleu preceding belonged to the twentieth year in Persia, the earlier Persian computation would commence in or before Chisleu B.C. 478, *i.e.*, during the first year of Esther's reign.

Nehemiah was at Jerusalem for twelve years. In the thirty-second year he was summoned to return to the king, whose thirty-second year in Persia would partly coincide with his nineteenth at Babylon.

During the reign of Darius II, *i.e.* before B.C. 405, and after the death of the High-priest Eliashib, *i.e.*, after B.C. 414, Nehemiah visited Jerusalem again.

REMARKS UPON A TERRA-COTTA VASE.

By Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A.

Read February 4th, 1873.

The circular Terra-Cotta Vase, about seven inches broad and two and a half inches in depth, with a small central boss, concerning which I am about to make a few remarks, was found at Hillah, near the supposed site of the ancient Babylon. It was discovered after a very high wind, which had laid bare a portion of one of the ancient mounds by the removal of a large quantity of superincumbent sand, and was taken from its long resting place by Mr. Shemtob, the Arab gentleman who sold it to the British Museum.

This bowl bears a considerable similarity to a number of terra-cotta bowls in the Assyrian Gallery of the Museum, which are deeper, indeed, but of similar material with that now before us, and, like it, inscribed internally with magical inscriptions in the Hebrew, or rather Chaldee square character; and it is supposed that all these were, probably, alike used for the purpose of purifications or lustral sprinklings of water during incantations or other rites connected with some mode of divination. But unfortunately, though we have abundant information as to certain lustral rites in connection with *sacrifices* among both Greeks and Romans, especially the latter, yet there is scarcely any point on which ancient authorities have handed down to us so little information, as that of their mode of divining, and making charms, *by water and by cups or bowls.* This mode, however, of forecasting the future, and of warding off apprehended evil, seems to have been practised very extensively, traces of it being found in ancient India, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and even among the Jews as early as the days of Joseph, of whose divining cup we read in Gen. xliv, "Is not this my

lord's cup whereby he divineth?" Perhaps this terra-cotta vase, taken in connection with the others in the British Museum, may enable us to add Babylonia to the list of those countries where cyatho, or *κυλικο μαντεια*—cup or bowl divination—was practised. I will first of all briefly state what the modes of this divination were, and then offer, but with much diffidence, a suggestion as to the use to which this lustral bowl (for such I suppose it to be) *may* have been put. The earliest mention of divination by cups is of course that already alluded to in the first Book of Moses. The word there used is נָחַשׁ cognate with לָחַשׁ, the fundamental signification of which is *to utter a low, whispering and hissing sound*, and hence, *to practise enchantment by muttering magical formulæ;* and then, in a general sense, *to augur and divine.* It is thus used twice in Gen. xlv, and once again in Gen. xxx, 27, where Laban says to Jacob, *I have consulted divination and the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake*, strangely enough rendered in our version, *I have learned by experience that, &c.*, in which our translators no doubt followed Jerome's *experimento didici*, not being aware probably that *experimentum* means *augury*, as in the usual Latin phrase (*e.g.* Liv. 1, 36) "experiri augurio."

It was by a cup or גָּבִיעַ that Joseph was in the habit of divining; and it is remarkable that the Septuagint translators should have rendered the Hebrew גביע or *cup* by *κονδυ*, which Athenæus (Deip. ii, 55) explains by *ποτηριον ἀσιατικον*, and Hesychius by *ποτηριον βαρβαρικον*. This word *κονδυ*, in the sense of *cup*, has also become naturalised in Arabic and Persian, and, according to authorities quoted by Bohlen in his Alte Indien, this was the name of the mystical saucers or dishes used by the ancient Indian Priests in their religious ceremonies; to which Wilson, in the Asiatic Researches (vol. v, 357), adds, that they were made in the form of a lotus flower, from which the libation was made. Athenæus also speaks of the *κονδυ* as being used in Egypt in religious ceremonies, as does Jamblichus (iii, 14); where Norden, the German traveller, records that he witnessed a kind of fortune-telling by dishes of water in modern times. If the vessel now before us has any connection with the lotus-shaped

vessels alluded to above, it is just possible that the boss in the centre may originally have been meant for the pistils and stamens of that flower, and it is curious that Athenæus in describing different kinds of patellæ, mentions those which have a boss, ὀμφαλος or μεσομφαλος, in the centre (xi, p. 357).

Pliny also (xxx, 2) gives us some information as to divination by water as known to *him*. One mode of it was by putting small plates of gold or silver, or precious stones, with the likeness of the inquirer, into a sacred bowl, and the answer of the dæmon or spirit depended for its good or bad significance on the manner in which the image was refracted on the surface. Another mode was by fastening a ring to a thread, and suspending it over the water in the cup. The ring by its varying percussions on some part of the bowl would reveal the things inquired about.

The water which this bowl now before us contained, may possibly have been drank, and the inscription may have been supposed to impregnate and charge it with a kind of talismanic virtue. But the thickness of the lip seems to militate against that supposition. I would rather suggest that a rotatory motion may have been given to it at the centre by twisting it with the finger and thumb, or by means of a string, and so the water sprinkled as a kind of lustration, or charm, and possibly (though this is merely conjecture) connected with or preparatory to some mode of divination. That it was used for some such purpose as this is obvious from the inscription, which is partly Hebrew, partly Chaldee, and partly Rabbinic Hebrew, the majority of the words being of the two latter classes. It has been deciphered by myself and Mr. Drach, to whom I have submitted the following version, in the general accuracy of which he concurs. It is as follows :—

כלחרמון[1] נושח ועבדנו תקונון ולטמא עוררו ואשלמתא
ועללמא דרחמין ודקרובין דלולוא[2] ורומאמא דגבדי
ודכנשו דעבדולוה ודעבדוולוה לצדהאיי ולתואוה ולמתתות

[1] Vide Buxtorf, p. 830, Lex. Rab.; also p. 654.
[2] Ibid. 4to., Chald. Lex., p. 277.
[3] Ibid. Lex. Rab., p. 712.

דכולהון צדלאלה מן מלא עטדים[1] עלם וכולהון אלן
ואלון אשמתן ומנחיו גמרון ומכדין שקרין ומפתח
ומבטלן מן גופהון[2] ומכדה [ומן כל חדא קוממתא][3] מרומותן
דחמרין ודצרהאם מאשצר לאלה שלארח היצואנו
כוכבא והוא נציח מכל כוכבא דעלמי רבובא אם
. . . . . צוחוא דהוא עלמא[4]

שמא רבא מברך אמן אמן סלה
קח קח קח קח [5]עו עו עו

(thrice) ע or ק[5]
(thrice) ש[5]
(twice) מ[5]

"As to the serpent oblivion, so to that which serves us [may there be] direction, and to the unclean that which drives it away; and peace and discernment of mercy and of offerings and of things [that may be] foolish; and exaltation of things that [may be] great, and of companies [or assemblies] and of servant(?) and servants(?). May it be against pains and omens and for deaths of all kinds, stupor from all kinds of miasmas in the world, all of them. These even these are their propitiations and remedial offerings, their termination and their redemption, and their binding and opening, and their being invalidated from bodies, and the supporter of all joy, the remover of heats and ailments from constellations,[6] which is the way that leads us to the stars, and it shineth above all stars of the great world [macrocosm] [*two inches of writing obliterated*] if . . . . . outcries of the world. May His ineffable name be blessed. Amen, Amen, Selah. Take, Take, Take, Take."

It need excite no surprise that a mixture of Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, and Chaldee should be in familiar use in the neighbourhood of Babylon, even at a late period, when

[1] Buxt. p. 1939. [2] Ibid. p. 1648.
[3] Inserted in a smaller hand above the running line.
[4] Two inches here obliterated. [5] ? Magical letters.
[6] The word is *minaster*. Is this a corrupt form of *αστηρ* or Ishtar or Mazzaroth?

we recollect the number of Jews who were there settled and that it became, about the year 230 of the Christian Æra—after the death of R. Jehuda the Holy—the seat of a school of learning, and that the Babylon Talmud thence arose. But we must suppose that a vase of this kind could have been used by those only who had fallen into the belief of some strange admixture of Judaism and Heathenism. *The internal* evidence of the dialects used forbid us to assign to this vase a very early date.

Note on Mr. Rodwell's Patera Paper.

The G'biah גביע (not כוס), for Joseph's divination (נחש) cup, is supposed by the Hebrew authorities to have been (comp. גבעה and *dome*-shaped hills) of longish shape, which by striking indicated the birth-rank of Joseph's brothers (Gen. xliii, 33)—a curious proof of the Rabinnical antiquity of spirit-rapping. It is targumized as אוּגְבִי or כַּלִּיתָא for the purpose of בָּדֵק or טַיֵּיר. Jarchi calls it "אדירכו,—query old French name MDIRNU." Perhaps these words may be found in the cuneiform tablets, and they are therefore here recorded.

S. M. DRACH.

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SYNCHRONOUS HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read March 4th, 1873.

Introduction.

The following translations are made from a number of fragments that once formed part of a tablet which recorded the intercourse, amicable or otherwise, between Assyria and Babylonia from an early period. A large part of the tablet is unfortunately lost to us; but enough remains to afford a valuable basis for the chronological arrangement of the later kings of the two countries. The work was not a long one, as the various notices are given in the driest and shortest analistic form. Unlike the larger part of the library to which it belonged, this tablet was originally composed by Assyrian scribes, as the purely Assyrian point of view from which each event is regarded would of itself show, and was posterior to the eighth century B.C. In all probability, it was drawn up during the reign of Assur-bani-pal, the son of Essar-haddon. The principal portion of the fragments is to be found in the second volume of the British Museum Series, Plate 65; a piece which formed the upper portion of the tablet is lithographed in the third volume, Plate 4, No. 3; while a third fragment of small size, which supplements the history of Assur-bil-cala, still remains unpublished. The obverse of the last-mentioned fragment is alone legible.

Tablet of Synchronous Babylonian and Assyrian History.

(W.A.I. Vol. II, Pl. 65; Vol. III, Pl. 4, 3.)

1. D.P. Ca - ra - in - da - as 'sar mat
Cara-indas[1] *king of the land of*

Caru - du - ni - as
Car-duniyas[2]

2. va D.P. As-sur-bil - nisi -su 'sar D.P. As-sur
and *Assur-bil-nisi -su* *king of Assyria*

rac - 'sa - a - ti
a covenant

[1] Cara-indas, Burna-buryas, and Cara-khardas belonged to the Cassi or Kossæans, an Elamite tribe which had conquered Babylonia under Khammurabi. They seem to represent the Arabian dynasty of Berosus, and made Babylon their capital. They long continued to form part of the population of Chaldæa, as in a contract of the 10th year of Merodach-iddin-akhi (in B.C. 1110), we find mention made of Mili-Kharbat and Ulam-khala (W.A.I. IV, 43, 18, 20). A tablet renders the first name "Man of Bel" (*nis Bilu*), and the second "Offspring of Gula" (*lidan Gula*). The transactions recorded in this passage would have taken place about B.C. 1400.

[2] Car-duniyas, "the fortress of Duniyas," seems to have been Lower Chaldæa. It was also called Gun-duni (Smith's Assurbanipal p. 183, *l.*), "the enclosure of Duni," which has been compared with the Biblical *Gan Aiden*, or Garden of Eden, by Sir H. Rawlinson. The word first occurs under the Kassite dynasty, to which belongs the termination of the royal name Duniyas.

3. ina bi - rid su - nu a - na a - kha - i
between them with each other

yu - ra - ci - 'su
established;

4. va ma - mi - tu ina eli mi - its - ri
and a pledge[1] *with regard to the boundaries*

an - na - ma a - na a - kha - i id - di - nu
of a certain character to one another gave.

---

5. D.P. Bu - zur - as-sur 'sar D.P. As-sur va D.P.
Buzur-Assur king of Assyria and

Bur - na - bur - ya - as
Burna-buryas

6. 'sar D.P. Caru - du - ni - as idh - mu-va mi - its - ri
king of Car-duniyas made an ordinance, and boundaries(2)

7. ta - khu - mu an - na - ma yu - ci - nu
common(1) *of a certain character established.*

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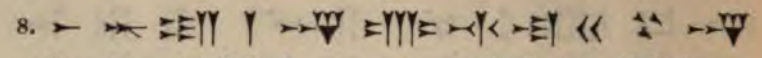
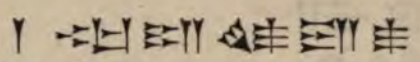
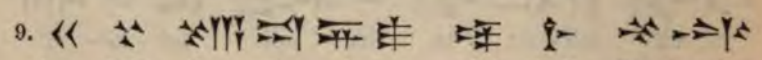
[1] *Mamitu* stands for *mamittu*, and that for *mamintu*, a reduplicated form of אמן like dadmu from אדם.

8. 

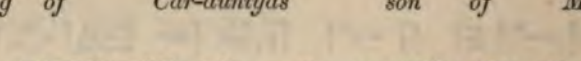
ina tar - tsi D.P. As-sur - yu - palladh 'sar D.P. As-sur
In the time of Assur-yupalladh king of Assyria,



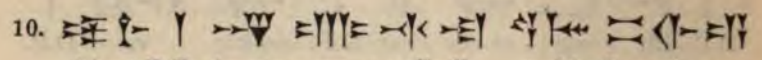
D.P. Ca - ra - khar - da - as
Cara-khardas

9. 

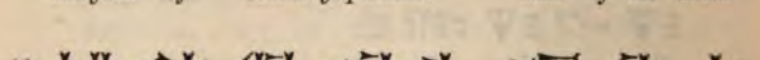
'sar D.P. Caru - du - ni - as abil D.P. Mu - pal -
king of Car-duniyas son of Mupal-



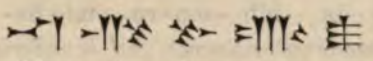
li - dha - at D.P. Se - ru - u - a
lidhat - Serūà[1]

10. 

binat D.P. As-sur - yu - palladh tsabi Cas - si - e
daughter of Assur-yupalladh men of the Cassi

11. 

ip - pal - ci - tu - va iducu - su D.P.
revolted against and slew him.



Na - zi - bu - ga - as
Nazi - bugas[2]

[1] Mupallidhat-Seruà would signify "She that is quickened by Seruya," the wife of Assur, called Μισσάρη by Damascius (De pr. Princ. ed. Kopp. p. 324).

[2] The tablet before alluded to in Note 1, p. 2, (W.A.I. 65, 2) renders Nazi by *rubu* "prince." The Assyrian connexion of Cara-khardas may have had much to do with the revolt of the Cassi against him.

12. . . . . .

. . . . . ana 'sar - u - te a - na

a man of low parentage[1] *to the kingdom to (be)*

eli su-nu is -su- 'u

over them they raised.

---

13. . . . . [

[2] . . . . . 'sar D.P. As-sur ana tu - ri

. . . . . *king of Assyria to exact*

gi - mil - li

satisfaction[3]

14. [

sa D.P. Ca - ra - khar - da - as a - na

for Cara-khardas to

D.P. Caru - du - ni - as il - lic

Carduniyas he went;

15. [

D.P. Na - zi - bu - ga - as 'sar D.P.

Nazi-bugas king of

Caru - du - ni - as i - duc

Car-duniyas he slew;

[1] This is filled in by Mr. Smith from an unpublished fragment. I do not know what is the original text.

[2] See note at the end of the paper.

[3] Literally "to bring back a benefit." *Gimillu* is here used in the sense of "requital," like גמל in 2 Sam. xxii, 21.

16. [D.P. Cu - ri - gal - zu abil D.P. Bur - na-
Curi-galzu[1] *son of Burna-*

bur - ya - as
buryas

17. [ina cussi yu - se - sib
on the throne he seated.

COLUMN II.

1. nisi ebdi - su e - pu - us . . . .
his servants he made . . . .

2. a - di D.P. 'Sun - la - ar . . . .
as far as the city 'Sunlar

---

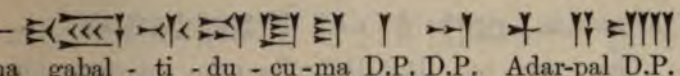
3. D.P. D.P. Bil - cudura - yutsur 'sar D.P. As-sur . . . . .
Bel-chadrezzar king of Assyria . . . . .

4. i - du - cu D.P. D.P. Bil - cudura - yutsur D P. D.P.
they slew Bel-chadrezzar.

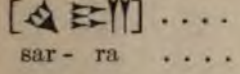
Raman - pal - i - din . . . .
Rimmon-pal-iddina[2] . . . .

[1] Inscriptions of Curi-galzu have been found in Babylonia, in which he calls himself son of Burna-buryas; his, consequently, must be the name to be supplied here.

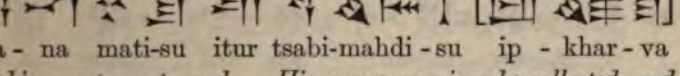
[2] Rimmon-pal-iddin has been ingeniously supplied here by Mr. Smith (see his Notes on Early Babylonian History, in Part 1, Vol. I, of the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology).

5. 

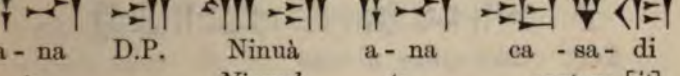
ina gabal - ti - du - cu - ma D.P. D.P. Adar-pal D.P.
in the midst of that conflict *Adar-pileser*[1]



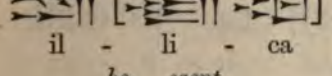
sar - ra . . . .
. . . . . .

6. 

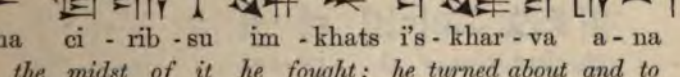
a - na mati-su itur tsabi-mahdi - su ip - khar - va
to his country returned. *His many warriors he collected, and*

7. 

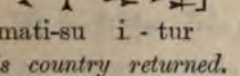
a - na D.P. Ninuà a - na ca - sa - di
to *Nineveh* *to* *capture* [*it*]



il - li - ca
he went.

8. 

ina ci - rib - su im - khats i's - khar - va a - na
in the midst of it he fought; he turned about and to



mati-su i - tur
his country returned.

---

[1] Adar-pileser was king of Assyria. The sense of the whole passage seems to be that Belchadrezzar the Assyrian king was slain in battle with the Babylonian monarch. His successor Adar-pileser was forced to retreat to Nineveh, which was captured by Rimmon-pal-iddin ; a fact which the Assyrian historian describes euphemistically. It was probably upon this occasion that the seal of Tuculti-Adar the son of Shalmaneser was carried off to Babylon, from which it was brought back 600 years afterwards by Sennacherib. The name of the Babylonian king would show that a Semitic dynasty had already been established in Babylon, probably by Tuculti-Adar, who speaks of his conquest of Gan-duniyas and the seal in question (W.A.I. III, 4, 2). I follow Oppert and Schrader in reading Adar, in despair of a better transcription of the god's name ; though I do not regard the reading as very satisfactory.

Adar-pileser was the father of Assur-dayan. Tiglath-Pileser I. says of him (W.A.I. I, 15, 55, 59) that "he cleared away his enemies like pea-fowl over his country, and organised the armies of Assyria."

9. ina tar-tsi D.P. D.P. Za-mā-mā-sum-iddina 'sar
In the time of Zamama-sum-iddin king

D.P. Caru-du-ni-as
of Car-duniyas

10. As-sur-dayan 'sar D.P. As-sur a-na
Assur-dayan[1] *king of Assyria to*

D.P. Caru-du-ni-as il-lic
Car-duniyas went;

11. D.P. Za-bav D.P. Ir-ri-ya D.P.
the cities of Zabā, Irriya [and]

A-kar-'sa-al its-bat
Akarsal he captured

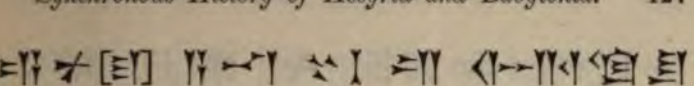
12. sal-la-'su-nu ma-ah-tu a-na
their spoil in abundance to

D.P. As-sur is-sa-'a
Assyria he carried.

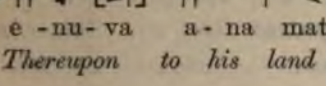
[Then follows a lacuna.]

---

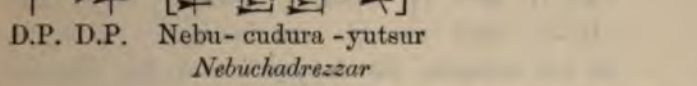
[1] Assur-dayan's name is written by Tiglath-Pileser, who calls him "the lifter up of the precious sceptre, the pursuer of the people of Bel (the Babylonians), who had conferred the work of his hand and the gift of his fingers upon the great gods, and had attained to old age and length of years."

1. 

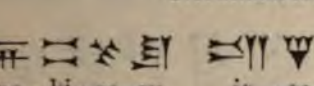
e - nu - va a - na mati-su itur ar - ci - su
Thereupon to his land he returned. After him



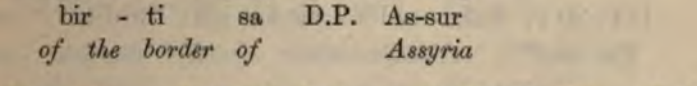
D.P. D.P. Nebu- cudura -yutsur
Nebuchadrezzar

2. 

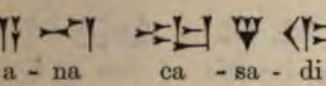
ne - bi - se - su is - sa - a a - na tsa- an - ki
his armaments[1] *carried; to the passes*[2]



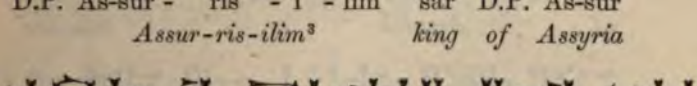
bir - ti sa D.P. As-sur
of the border of Assyria

3. 

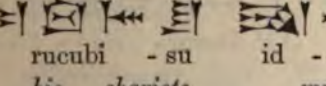
a - na ca - sa - di il - li - ca
to conquer he went.



D.P. As-sur - ris - i - lim 'sar D.P. As-sur
Assur-ris-ilim[3] *king of Assyria*

4. 

rucubi - su id - ca -'a a - na eli
his chariots mustered against

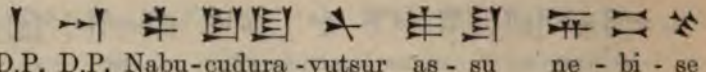


su a - na a - la - ci
him to go.

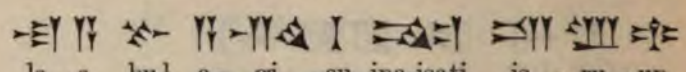
[1] *Nebise* is a Niphal derivation pl. from עבש "to make."

[2] *Tsanki* comes from the root צנק "to confine," "be narrow," whence the Heb. צינק "prison."

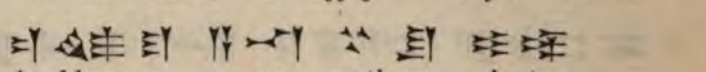
[3] Assur-ris-ilim was the son of Mutaggil-Nebo, the grandson of Assur-dayan, and the father of Tiglath-Pileser. Sir H. Rawlinson ingeniously identifies him with the Biblical Cushan-rish-athaim, king of Mesopotamia, whose name, as it stands, is certainly corrupt. The royal name signifies "Assur, head of the gods," and is interesting as affording an example of the old Assyrian plural-ending *im*, which elsewhere has generally become *i*.

5. 

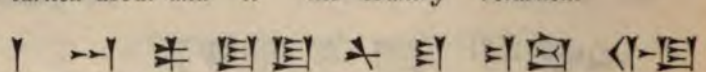
D.P. D.P. Nabu-cudura-yutsur as-su ne-bi-se
Nebochadrezzar, when the armaments



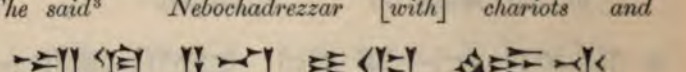
la-a bu[1] a-gi-su ina-isati is-ru-up
do not advance, his baggage[2] with fire burned:

7. 

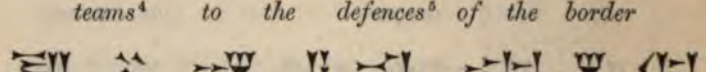
is-khar-va a-na mati-su i-tur
he turned about and to his country returned.

8. 

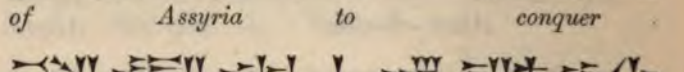
D.P. D.P. Nabu-cudura-yutsur mā rucub va
The said[3] Nebochadrezzar [with] chariots and



zu-ci a-na i-di bir-ti
teams[4] to the defences[5] of the border

9. 

sa D.P. As-sur a-na ca-sa-di
of Assyria to conquer



il-li-ca D.P. As-sur-ris-i-lim
went. Assur-ris-ilim

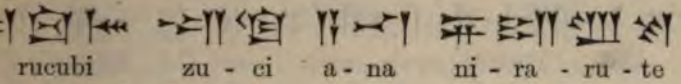
[1] *Bū* is contracted from *bu'u*, the 3rd pers. pl. mas. of the Kal Permansive of בוא. It is a good instance of this tense.

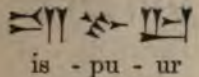
[2] *Agu* or *egu* in the singular signifies "a crown," connected with the Heb. עגה "a round cake," Arab. عاج "to bend," though originally an Accadian loan-word. The plural in this passage can only mean "baggage."

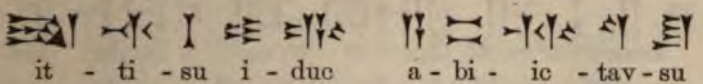
[3] I agree with Mr. Norris in considering *ma* to be an enclitic demonstrative pronoun, shortened from *amma*, and standing in the same relation to *annu* and *ullu* that "hic" does to "iste" and "ille" (see my Assyrian Grammar, pp. 43, 44).

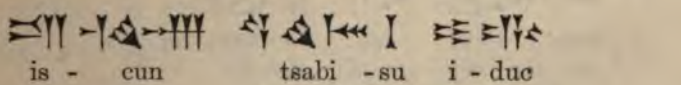
[4] *Zuci* answers to the Heb. זקק "to bind," זק "a fetter," ק being weakened to ך in consequence of the soft sibilant which precedes it.

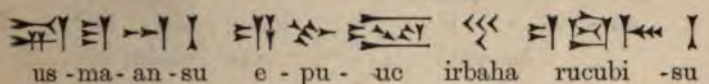
[5] *Idi* is often used in Assyrian in the sense of "defences," "walls." I do not think that it has anything to do with יד "hand," but that it must be connected with the South Arabic *ôd* "house" (North Ethiopic *ydd*).

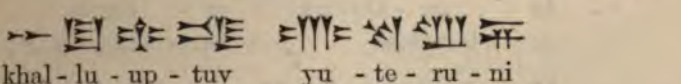
10. 
rucubi zu - ci a - na ni - ra - ru - te
chariots [*and*] *teams* *for* *assistance*

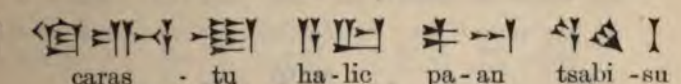

is - pu - ur
sent forth.

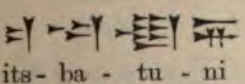
11. 
it - ti - su i - duc a - bi - ic - tav - su
With him he fought; a destruction of him


is - cun tsabi - su i - duc
he made; his soldiers he smote;

12. 
us - ma - an - su e - pu - uc irbaha rucubi - su
his camp[1] *he plundered; forty of his chariots*(2)


khal - lu - up - tuv yu - te - ru - ni
harnessed(1) *they had brought back;*

13. 
caras - tu ha - lic pa - an tsabi - su
one standard[2] *that went* *before* *his host*


its - ba - tu - ni
they had taken.

---

[1] *Usmanu* is a common word, akin, I believe, to the Heb. אסם "a storehouse."

[2] *Carasu* signifies "baggage," and hence "camp"; the fem. suffix individualises the word, as here. Perhaps we may compare (with Dr. Schrader) the Heb. רכוש.

14. D.P. Tuculti -pal- esir 'sar D.P. As-sur D.P. D.P.
Tiglath-pileser[1] *king of Assyria*

Maruduc-iddin- akhi 'sar D.P. Caru - du - ni - as
Merodach-iddin-akhi king of Car-duniyas

15. ana-essute garnu dan - tu sa rucubi ma - la
a second time[2] *[with] a squadron*(2) *strong*(1) *of chariots, as many as*

ina eli ali Za - bav
in the city of the Zab(2)

16. su - ba - li - e ina tar - tsi[3] D.P.
lower(1) *in sight of*

Ar - zu - khi - na is - cun
Arzukhina he made,

17. ina sanu - te sanati an - na ina tiri mar - ri - ti
in the second year at that time on the bank of the sea

sa e - lis D.P. Accadi i - duc
which [is] above Accad smote;

[1] Tiglath-Pileser has left a detailed account of his exploits in the cylinder inscription which was translated in 1857 by Rawlinson, Hincks, Fox Talbot, and Oppert. Sennacherib states that he was carried captive to Babylon by Merodach-iddin-alchi 418 years before his own invasion of Babylonia (that is about 1110 B.C.)

[2] Literally "the second time." signified plurality in time. Its Accadian value of *essa*, which is rendered by the Assyrian *sepu* "foot," was borrowed by the Assyrians under the form of *essu*, *essuti*, "anew." The following character means "horn," and hence anything like a horn.

[3] The word is written *tir-tsi* in Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 88, line 80.

18. D.P. Dur - cu - ri - gal - zu D.P. 'Si - ip - par
Dur-curigalzu *Sippara*

sa D.P. Sa - mas
of *the* *Sun,*

19. D.P. 'Si - ip - par sa D.P. A - nu - ni - tuv
Sippara *of* *Anunit,*[1]

20. Bab - ilu D.P. U - pi - e
Babylon, *Opis,*

ma - kha - zi rabu - ti
strongholds (2) *great* (1)

21. a - di khal - zi - su - nu ic - su - ud
to *their* *citadels* *he* *captured.*

22. i - na yu - me - su D.P. A - gar - 'sa - al
In *those* *days* *the* *city* *of* *Agar'sal*

23. a - di D.P. Lu - ub - di ikh - lik
as far as *Lubdi* *he* *devastated;*

[1] The two Sipparas (whence the dual Sepharvaim of Scripture) seem to have been on opposite sides of the river, like Buda-Pesth. The name signifies in Accadian, "Place of the Sun" (*Si-par*).

24. mat 'Su - khi a - di D.P. Ra - pi - ki
the land of the 'Sukhi[1] *as far as the city Rapik*

a - na pad gim - ri - su ic - su - ud
to its whole extent he conquered.

---

25. ina tar - tsi D.P. As-sur - bil - ca - la 'sar
In the time of Assur-bel-cala[2] *king*

D.P. As-sur
of Assyria [and]

26. D.P. D.P. Maruduc - sa - pi - ic - cul - lat 'sar
Merodach-sapic-cullat king

D.P. Caru - du - ni - as
of Car-duniyas

27. khu - ub - ta[3] 'su - lu - um - ma a - na
friendship [and] peace with

28. a - kha - i is - cu - nu
one another they made.

[1] The 'Sukhi seem to have lived to the south of Babylonia, near the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates.

[2] Assur-bel-cala was the son of Tiglath-Pileser. In a mutilated inscription (W.A. I.I, 6, 6.) he claims the conquest of the land of the West, or Palestine. A brother of his, who ascended the throne either before or after him, was Samas-Rimmon, the repairer of the Temple of the Goddess of Nineveh (W.A.I. III, 3, 9, 11).

[3] *Khubta* answers to the Heb. חבב "to love," Arab. *khabba*.

29. [𒁹 𒄭 𒄿𒄿𒄿 𒁍 𒁹𒀀𒀀 𒁹𒀀𒀭] 𒁹𒀀𒀭𒁹 𒁹𒄿 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 [𒁹𒀀𒀀]
ina tar- tsi D.P. As-sur- bil - ca - la 'sar D.P. As-sur
In the time of Assur-bel-cala king of Assyria

30. [𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
D.P. D.P. Maruduc- sa - pi - ic - cul - lat 'sar
Merodach-sapic-cullat king

𒁹𒀀] 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 [𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹]
D.P. Caru - du - ni - as mat-su its - bat-su
of Car-duniyas his death took him

31. . . . . 𒁹𒀀 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
. . . . . sad- u - ni abil la - ma-ma- an
. . . . . *saduni the son of a nobody*

32. [𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹] 𒁹 𒁹
a - na 'sarru - te a - na eli su-nu
to the kingdom over them

𒁹𒁹 𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹
is -su- u
they raised.

33. [𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹] 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
D.P. As-sur - bil - ca - la 'sar D.P. As-sur
Assur-bel-cala king of Assyria

34. [𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹] 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
a - na D.P. Caru - du - ni - as e - ri - ib
to Car-duniyas went down;

35. [𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹] 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹
sal- la - 'su - nu a - na D.P. As-sur il - ka'
their spoil to Assyria he brought.

Then follows a lacuna. The mutilated reverse of the tablet begins in the middle of a reign.

1. . . . . .
. . . . . D.P. D.P. Nabu-sum- iscun
. . . . . *Nebo-sum-iscun*

2. . . . . [ ]
. . . . . im - ta -khi - its abicti -su
. . . . . *fought; a destruction of him*

is - cun
he made

3. . . . . [ ] [ ]
. . . . . D.P. Bam - ba - la D.P. Khu- da - du
. . . . . *Bam-bala* [*and*] *Khudadu*

4. . . . . .
. . . . . ala - ni ma- ah - du- ti
. . . . . *cities* (2) *many* (1)

5. [ ] [ ]
ic - su - dav - va sal - la - 'su - nu
he captured, and their spoil

ma- ah - da - tu
in abundance

6. [ ] [ ]
a - na D.P. As-sur il - ka - 'a
to Assyria he took.

7. . . . . [ ]
. . . . . ni -ma- ti mat-su lu e - tsir - su
. . . . . *his death constrained him*

8. . . . . .
. . . . . cin - su binat - su - nu a - na
. . . . . *their daughters to*

a - kha - i id - di - nu
one another they gave;

9. [Khu - ub - ta] 'su - lu - um - ma - à ga - ma - ra
friendship [and] alliance (2) *complete* (1)

it - ti a-kha- i is - cu - nu
with one another they made;

10. [nisi D.P. As-sur D.P. Accadi] it - ti
the men of Assyria [and] Accad with

a-kha- i ib - ba - khu
one another trafficked.

11. is - tu tul Bit - ba - ri sa il - la - an
From the mound of Bit-bari which [is] above

alu Za- bav
the city of the Zab

12. a - di tul sa D.P. Ba - ta - a - ni va
to the mound of Batani and

sa D.P. Zab- da - ni cudura yu - cin - u
of the city Zabdani[1] *a boundary-line they made*

---

[1] Both Bit-bari and Zabdani were situated near the Lower Zab, the Caprus of classical geographers.

13. [ ] ina tar - tsi D.P. D.P. Sallim-ma-nu-esir 'sar
In the time of Shalmaneser[1] *king*

D.P. As-sur
of Assyria

14. [ ] D.P. D.P. Nabu - pal - iddin - na 'sar D.P.
[*and*] *Nebo-pal-iddina king of*

Caru - du - ni - as
Car-duniyas

15. [ ] khu - ub - ta 'su - lu - um - ma
friendship [*and*] *alliance* (2)

ga - am - ra
complete (1)

16. [ ] īt - ti a-kha-i is - cu - nu ina tar - tsi
with one another they made. In the time

D.P. D.P. Sallim-ma-nu-esir 'sar D.P. As-sur
of Shalmaneser king of Assyria,

[1] Shalmaneser, the son of Assur-natsir-pal, ascended the throne B.C. 858. To him belongs the Black Obelisk which records the tribute of Jehu of Samaria. An inscription of his at the sources of the Tigris gives an account of his defeat of a confederacy which Benhadad of Damascus had formed, and which included Ahab of Israel.

17. [𒀭 𒀭 𒀝] 𒀝𒀝𒀭 𒀝𒀭 𒀭 𒆠 𒁹
D.P. D.P. Nabu - pal - iddin - na 'sar D.P.
Nebo-pal-iddina king of

𒁹𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀝𒀝 𒀀 𒀝𒀭 𒀭𒀭 [𒁹𒀭𒀭 𒀝𒀭]
Caru - du - ni - as mat - su e - tsir - su
Car-duniyas his death constrained him.

18. [𒀭 𒀭 𒀝𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭
D.P. D.P. Maruduc-sum-iddin ina cussi abi-su
Merodach-sum-iddin on the throne of his father

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 [𒀭𒀭]
yu - sib
sat:

19. [𒀭 𒀭 𒀭] 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭
D.P. D.P. Maruduc-bil - u - 'sa - a - te akhu - su
Merodach-bel-usate his brother

𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 [𒀭𒀭𒀭]
itti - su ip - pal - cit
against him revolted;

20. . . . 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀀 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 [𒀭𒀭]
. . . da - bav lu - its - bat D.P. Ac - ca - di - i
. . . *he took; the land of Accad*

21. [𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭] 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒀭
mal - mal - is i - zu - zu D.P. D.P.
strongly he had fortified.

𒀭𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀀 [𒀭𒀭]
Sallim-ma-nu-esir 'sar D.P. As-sur
Shalmaneser king of Assyria

22. a - na ni - ra - ru - ti sa D.P. D.P.
to the assistance of

Maruduc - sum - iddin
Merodach-sum-iddin

23. 'sar D.P. Caru - du - di - as il - lic
king of Car-duniyas went.

24. D.P. D.P. Maruduc - bil - u - 'sa - a - te sarru
Merodach-bel-usate the king

im - kut
he slew.

25. bil - tsabi bil khi - di sa it - ti - su i - duc
the captains, the rebels,[1] *who [were] with him he smote.*

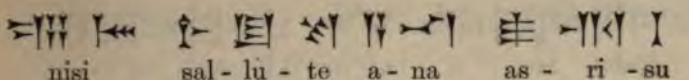
26. ina Tig - gab - a - ci Bab - ilu
In Cuthah, Babylon,

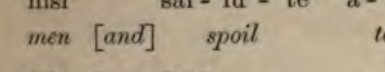
27. Bar - sip - ci niki eb - us
[and] Borsippa sacrifices he made[2]

Then follows another lacuna; the text begins again as follows:—

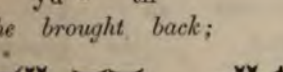
[1] Literally "Lord(s) of Sin." The word is regarded as a compound, and *bil* consequently is in the singular.

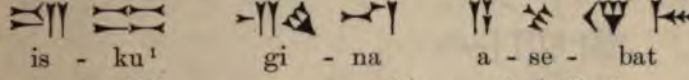
[2] This is restored from the account which the king gives of his Babylonian expedition upon the Black Obelisk.

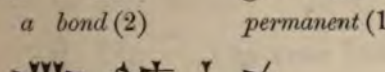
1. 
nisi sal - lu - te a - na as - ri - su
men [and] spoil to his places


yu - tir
he brought back;

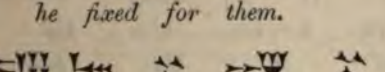
2.
is - ku[1] gi - na a - se - bat
a bond (2) *permanent* (1) *of habitations*


yu - cin - su - nu
he fixed for them.

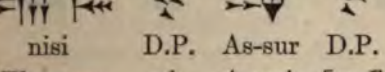
3. 
nisi D.P. As-sur D.P. Caru - du - ni - as
The men of Assyria [and] of Car-duniyas


it - ti a-kha-i ib - ba - khu
with one another trafficked.

4.
mi - its - ru ta - khu - mu 'sibba'a yu - cin
A boundary in common of seventy [caspu][2] he established,


um - ma
as follows:

[1] I connect *isku* with *iskati* "fetters" (Smith's Assurbanipal, 44, 45). The root is עשק, عسق "to constrain." *Asebat* is from the common אשב.

[2] The *caspu* was equal to about seven miles. It was called *aslu* in Assyrian. The omission of the word in this passage is very anomalous; and it is possible that *mitsru* in the singular may mean a "boundary-stone." In this case a  or *ammat* ("cubits") may have dropped out of the text in consequence of the same character following immediately; and the inscription which is transcribed in the succeeding lines would then have been written upon the stone or στήλη in question.

5. .....
Rubu arc - u sa ina D.P. Ac - ca - di ....
"*May the prince hereafter who in Accad* ....

6. .....
yu - sa - ca - nu - su - va sa - li - ti
shall appoint it and the plunder

.....
ci - sit - ti .....
of conquest [*? shall carry off*]

7. .....
lil - dhu - ur - va a - na abn na - rà
write, and to this inscribed

.....
an - na .....
stone [*? which contains*]

8. .....
ca - ai - ma - nu - va a - na la - ma - se
the ordinance and to the sacred images[1]

.....
e - lat - su sa
above it which

9. .....
um - ma - a - nu e - kha - zu lis-me-va la sa ...
the army has inscribed may he listen, and .....

[1] *Lamase* is Accadian, and is variously written *lamma, lamasa,* and *lamassu.* It is difficult to say whether it denotes the figures of the bulls or of the lions that guarded the Assyrian palaces. In the Syllabary l. 174, it is translated by *sedu,* the Heb. שֵׁד "a spirit," (as in Deut. xxxii, 17).

10. ta - na - ti D.P. As-sur lidh - lu - lu a - na
the laws of Assyria may they protect to

yu-me ar - ci
future days.

11. sa D.P. Su - me - ri D.P. Ac - ca - di - i
May he who Sumir [and] Accad

tsi - rar
(*shall rule*)

12. li - pa - se - ra ana ca - lis cip - ra - ti
interpret [them] fully [to] the people."[1]

Here the tablet finally breaks off. The ends of the lines which begin the whole history have also been discovered. They are as follows :—

1. . . . . *na-Assur* (? part of a royal name).

2. . . . . [*e*]-*bis-su* "he made him."

3. . . . . *su ad-me* "him the men."

4. . . . . *khu.*

5. . . . . [*ana*] *yu-me atsati,* "to future days."

6. . . . . *sa zic-ra* "who the memory."

[1] *Ciprati* rather means "tribes" than "people," and is therefore particularly applicable to Babylonia with its heterogeneous population, and its two main divisions into the Sumiri and the Accadi.

7. . . . . : [𒀭]𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒀭𒌋𒌋, *ta-na-ti li-ta* "laws [and] ordinance."

8. . . . . 𒀭𒌋 𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋, *va i-pi-lu gim-ri* "and they conquered the whole."

9. . . . . [𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋, *sar-ri makh-ru-ti* "former kings."

10. . . . . 𒀭𒌋 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒌋, *its-tsab-tu* "they were taken."

11. . . . . 𒁹𒁹𒌋𒌋 𒀭𒀭𒌋, *icb-ad* "*he oppressed.*"

Fragmentary as they are, the historical notices just given enable us to fix the relative age of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings from Assur-bil-nisi-su downwards. A brick legend tells us that Pudil was the grandson of Assur-yuballadh, and we find from inscriptions of Kileh Shergat that Pudil was the grandfather of Shalmaneser the father of Tiglath-Adar. The latter conquered Babylonia, and probably established a Semitic (Assyrian) dynasty there, in the room of the Cassite. Now a seal which belonged to Tiglath-Adar was carried off in war to Babylon 600 years before the capture of this city by Sennacherib. Consequently, if we can depend upon the statement of Sennacherib, Tiglath-Adar will have lived more than 1300 B.C. It is plain, therefore, that the date (B.C. 1273) usually assigned to the commencement of the Assyrian dynasty of Berosus, as reported by Eusebius (Chron. Græco-Armeno-Latin, Ven. 1818), is too late, and we must either suppose that between the more than suspicious Phulus, with whom the forty-five Assyrian kings are said to end, and the era of Nabonassar, several years elapsed, or else that the eighth dynasty of eight Assyrian kings have nothing to do with Babylonia (as indeed is shown to be the case by Ptolemy's Canon and the Monuments), or, lastly, that the numbers which we get at second and third hand from Berosus cannot be trusted. It is true that the use of the cuneiform characters was continued long after the age of the Chaldean historian, as M. Oppert has discovered a cuneiform inscrip-

tion which contains the name of a Parthian king;[1] but it may be questioned whether he had any means of knowing the precise dates of the early sovereigns and dynasties of his country. It will be noticed that no mark of time whatsoever, beyond that of mere succession, occurs in the tablet which has been translated above, and that the date assigned by Sennacherib to the plunder of Tiglath-Adar's seal is a round number. If, again, we are to identify Khammurabi and his Cassite successors with the Arab dynasty of Berosus, the nine monarchs, of which the latter makes it consist, must be largely increased, since nine royal names occur in a fragment which recounts the dynasty of Khammurabi, and to these have to be added Cara-indas and the sovereigns that followed him. On the other hand, Herodotus (i, 95) confirms the length which Berosus assigns to his Assyrian dynasty (526 years), by saying that the Assyrians ruled over Upper Asia for 520 years; while, as a set-off against the round number 600, we have the precise dates of 701 years, which according to Tiglath-Pileser I. elapsed between the foundation of the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Assur or Kileh Shergat by Samas-Rimmon and his own restoration of it, and of 418 years which the Bavian Inscription states was the interval between the defeat of Tiglath-Pileser by the Babylonians and Sennacherib's invasion of the latter country in B.C. 692. Cudur-Nankhundi the Elamite, again, is said by Assur-bani-pal to have "oppressed Accad" 1635 years before his own conquest of Elam, while we possess a yearly chronological record, kept by the names of the annual archons, from the reign of Rimmon-nirari at the beginning of the ninth century downwards; and there seems no reason for doubting the statement of Simplicius (Comment. in Arist. de Cælo ii, p. 123) that Kallisthenes, the friend of Alexander, sent to Aristotle (B.C. 329) the astronomical observations which had been made at Babylon for 1903 years previously. The date is corroborated by Pliny (H. N. vii, 57), who tells us that observations of the stars had been recorded at Babylon on baked

[1] See *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, 1er fascicule, pp. 23–29. The discovery is confirmed by the tablets found by Mr. Smith, dated in the reign of Arsahes, which mention two eras, Greek and Parthian.

bricks for 490 years, according to Berosus and Kritodêmus, before the mythical era of Phoroneus, or 720 years according to Epigenes. At the same time, the astronomical tablets which have come down to us contain no chronological references, and the inscriptions of the early Chaldean kings do not mention the regnal years of the occurrences which they record. The campaigns of Sargon I, for instance, are wholly undated except astrologically, and such dates as are found in monuments which belong to the reigns of Rim-[Ṣin?] and Khammurabi are events like "the capture of Carrak," or "the excavation of the Tigris." Had the treaties preserved in the tablet above translated been originally dated, the dates, we should expect, would have been copied, as in the case of "the second year" in the notice of Tiglath-Pileser's campaign; and the omission is the more strange, since not only had the Assyrians, at the period when this historical synopsis was written, become conscious of the value of precise marks of time, but private contracts from an early epoch had carefully noted the regnal year of the king in whose reign they were drawn up. No doubt the want of accurate dating was first felt in legal transactions. All this makes me doubt whether we can place full confidence in any of the numerical figures which are given to us, when these relate to a distant past, much less in the numbers excerpted from Berosus which we are unable to verify at first hand. If an exact chronological record were preserved anywhere, it would be in the temples where the lapse of time might be marked by the succession of priests. It is noticeable that the valuable inscription of Rimmon-nirari, the great grandson of Assur-yupalladh, lately discovered by Mr. Smith, is dated in the eponymy of Shalmanurris; showing that already at this early period the dates of Assyrian history could be accurately determined.

Additional Note.—The recent discoveries of Mr. Smith, described in his letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, May 14th, 1873, prove that the king who overthrew Nazi-bugas and restored Curi-galzu to his father's throne, was Bel-nirari the son of

Assur-yupalladh. The stone tablet from Kileh Sherghat, referred to above, states that Bel-nirari "destroyed the army of the Cassi, and the spoil ot his enemies his hand captured." The consequence of the intermarriages between the royal families of Assyria and Babylonia was that the grandson of Curi-galzu, Merodach Baladan, the son of Mili-sikhu, bears a Semitic name. Rimmon-pal-iddin, supposing the restoration is correct, would have been the successor of Merodach-Baladan.

NOTE ON THE NEW MOABITE STONE.

There being in the first Volume of the Transactions (page 328) a short paper by Mr. B. G. Jenkins "*On the so-called New Moabite Stone*,"—a subject which excited some attention at the time,—it has been thought desirable to preserve in these pages a translation of it, which was furnished by our late learned Hon. Member Prof. Levy of Breslau.

ARAMAIC.

דא נפש עבד מלכו
בר עבישו אסרתגא
די עבד (להי) עמרו
אסרתגא אחוהי

Translation.

"This is the monument of 'Abd-malchu son of 'Obaisu, "the Stratêgos, which his brother 'Amru the Stratêgos "made for him."

This translation differs in some particulars from the earlier version of Prof. Levy, printed in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, vol. xxv, p. 429. Prof. Renan of Paris has given a better reproduction of the inscription in the Journal Asiatique for the current year, p. 313. His reading is—

ARAMAIC.

דא נפש עבד מלכו
בר עבישו אסרתגא
דחעבד לה יעמרו
אסרתגא אחוהי

Translation.

"This is the monument of 'Abd-malchu, the son of "'Obaisu, the Stratêgos, which his brother Ya'maru the "Stratêgos got erected for him."

ON THE DATE OF THE FALL OF NINEVEH, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR AT BABYLON, B.C. 581.

By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S., *Treasurer*.

Read 1st July, 1873.

With reference to my treatise concerning Cyrus the Second, or Cyrus son of Cambyses who overthrew Babylon, as distinguished from Cyrus father of Cambyses who conquered Astyages and married his daughter Amytis (Vol. I, p. 183), in which I have taken for granted that the forty-three years' reign of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon began with the month Nisan B.C. 581, and ended on some day in the year 538, and have also made use of this reign as a well founded period in framing my scheme of Scripture chronology—it has been suggested to me that I should state clearly upon what authority I venture to make this assumption, in opposition to the generally accepted authority of Ptolemy's Canon, which places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 604. I will endeavour therefore to respond to this suggestion.

The question is one of no small interest and importance. For if it is true that Nebuchadnezzar began to reign in the year B.C. 581, Evilmerodach his successor must according to Berosus have begun to reign in 537, Nereglissar or Nergal-sharezar in 534, and Nabonidus or Nabonahid in 529. So that the seventeenth year of Nabonidus, in which year Cyrus marched against Babylon and besieged it, must have been the year B.C. 513; and the Cyrus who then deposed him must

have been Cyrus son of Cambyses, as Xenophon relates; not Cyrus father of Cambyses, as misunderstood by Herodotus. The proclamation of Cyrus also, at the beginning of the Book of Ezra, that the Temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, must have been issued by the son of Cambyses, in the year B.C. 513, not in 538, or 536 as commonly supposed. All which is powerfully supported by the following inscription,[1] proving the existence of a second Cyrus: "Cyrus [the king] who has taken care of the temples of Bit Saggath and Bit Zida, the son of Cambyses the powerful [king] I am he."

It is stated by Berosus the Chaldean historian, who wrote soon after the death of Alexander, that Nebuchadnezzar came to the throne of Babylon almost immediately after the fall of Nineveh. For Abydenus, copying from Berosus, writes thus:—"After him (Sardanapalus) Saracus reigned over the Assyrians, and when he was informed that a great multitude of barbarians had come up from the sea to attack him" (that is the army of Pharaoh-Necho, which had probably landed in the bay of Acre[2]), "he sent Busalossor[3] his general to Babylon. He however, with the intention of revolt, having married his son Nabuchodrossor to Amuhea daughter of Astyages (Astibares?), the prince of the Medes, immediately marched against the city of Ninus, that is Nineveh. When Saracus was informed of all this he burned the royal palace of Evoritus,[4] and Nabuchodrossor came to the throne of the empire and surrounded Babylon with a strong wall."[5]

[1] Inscription on a brick found at Senkereh, in Lower Chaldea, by Mr. Loftus in 1850, and read by Sir H. Rawlinson.

[2] Berosus in another passage, quoted by Josephus (Con. Apion, i, 19), speaks of the governor of Egypt (Necho) having at this time revolted from Babylon.

[3] Na-busalossor, or Nabopalassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar.

[4] Probably "Bitriduti the private palace of Nineveh;" see Smith's Assurbanipal, pp. 308, 325.

[5] Post quem (Sardanapallum) Saracus in Assyrios regnavit: et quum compertum habuisset multitudinem barbarorum maximam e mari exisse ut impetum faceret, Busalossorum ducem confestim Babylonem misit. Ille autem consilio rebellionis inito, Amuheam Astyagis Medi familiæ principis filiam Nabuchod-

To face Page

ICK OF CYRUS,

G. SMITH.

(?) (?)

ba (?) - ni (?) - iv

builder

u Bit - sid - da

and Bit-sidda

bu - zi - ya

Kambyses

a - na - ku

am I.

While Abydenus has thus related the proceedings of the king of Babylon at the time of the destruction of Nineveh, Herodotus has related the proceedings of the king of Media, his ally, thus:—"Phraortes being dead, he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares (called Astibares by Ctesias) grandson of Deioces. This is the king who was carrying on war with the Lydians when day became night, in the midst of one of their battles. Having collected all his forces he marched against Nineveh, intent upon revenging his father's death, and also upon destroying the city. He conquered the Assyrians in battle, but while besieging Nineveh a large army of Scythians, under the command of Madyes son of Protothyes came upon him. The Medes having been conquered in battle by the Scythians lost the empire of Asia" (Herod. i, 103, 104). And now Herodotus mentions a leading fact, which modern historians attempt in vain to reconcile with the common chronology, but which he repeats not less than three times, that "the Scythians held the empire of Asia for twenty-eight years, and then lost all by licentiousness and neglect. Cyaxares and the Medes having invited them (that is their leaders) to a banquet, slew the greater part of them while in a state of intoxication. Thus the Medes recovered the empire, and all that they before were masters of, and then took the city of Nineveh" (Herod. i, 106).

The facts here related by Abydenus and Herodotus, concerning Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopalassar, and the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares son of Phraortes, appear to have been known also to the writer of the Book of Tobit, who relates that before Tobit died, "he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus," that is, by Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares.

Thus, the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to the throne of Babylon forms an important epoch in Assyrian, Babylonian, and Median chronology. The empire of Nineveh was then finally destroyed, and Babylon and Media, having divided

rossoro suo filio uxorem despondit. Ac deinde protinus discedens accelerat aggredi Ninum, id est Ninive. Cum autem de his omnibus certior est factus Saracus rex, concremavit regiam aulam Evoriti. Nabuchodrossorus vero accipiens regni imperium valido muro Babylonem cinxit.—Euseb. Armen. Auch., p. 27.

the spoil, became for a time two independent and confederate kingdoms. The reign of Nebuchadnezzar is also interwoven with Hebrew and Egyptian chronology; for the prophet Jeremiah, who was alive when Nineveh was destroyed, speaks of the "fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon" (Jerem. xxv, 1); that is his first year when placed in command of his father's armies. Jeremiah also speaks of the "army of Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates, in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah" (xlvi, 2).

The position of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar has therefore to be adjusted in conformity with the chronology of these five separate nations, each of which had its own independent system of reckoning: and any system of reckoning which does not harmonise with the authentic chronology of these five nations must be incorrect. Let us begin with an examination of the Hebrew reckoning.

I.—*The Hebrew Date of Nebuchadnezzar's Reign.*

There is one cardinal date in Hebrew chronology which, by means of astronomical and historical records found at Nineveh, has been fixed beyond dispute; that is, the forty-eighth year of the reign of Azariah, or Uzziah king of Judah, which, according to these records, as I shall show, must have fallen in the year B.C. 538. Now, if we set down the reigns of the kings of Judah, as counted in the Book of Kings, downwards from the forty-eighth year of Uzziah, so fixed, to the fourth of Jehoiakim, which latter year we have seen was concurrent with the year in which Nebuchadnezzar took command of his father's army, we find that the following year, or year of his accession after his father's death, was B.C. 581, thus:—Uzziah reigned in all fifty-two whole years, and died in his fifty-third year, according to the above

reckoning, in B.C. 734, his son Jotham having been already associated with him on the throne, and holding the reigns of government.

Jotham	reigned	16	years from	B.C. 734
Ahaz	„	16	„	718
Hezekiah	„	29	„	702
Manasseh	„	55	„	673
Amon	„	2	„	618
Josiah	„	31	„	616
Jehoiakim	„	11	„	585

So that the "fourth year of Jehoiakim son of Josiah king of Judah, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon," B.C. 582, was the year in which Nebuchadnezzar smote the army of Pharaoh-Necho by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, and the following year, B.C. 581, in which Nabopalassar his father died while he was in Egypt, was the year of his accession, the government being carried on in his name at Babylon till his return, as related by Berosus.[1]

This series of dates in connection with the reigns of the kings of Judah is thus accurately determined by means of a solar eclipse registered at Nineveh on the 15th June, B.C. 763, in the year when Pur-el-salhē,[2] or Bur-sagale[3] was archon

[1] "Nunciatum est patri ejus Nabupalsaro, Satrapem præfectorum primum Ægypto et partibus Syriæ et Phœniciæ regionibus præpositum, conversis phraretris rebellasse. Et quoniam ipse non aptus erat ad (hostem) puniendum, congregavit tradiditque partem aliquam exercitus in manus filii sui Nabuchodrossori, qui tunc jam ætate valens erat, et adversus eum misit. Profectus est Nabuchodrossorus, et acie instructa cum proditore congressus est, vicitque: et regionem denuo ut antea jam inde erat in regni sui ditionem redegit. At sub id tempus evenit ut Nabupalsarus ejus pater morbum contraheret. in Babylonis urbe, et vitam finiret postquam regnasset annis XXIX (ἐικοσιν εννεα)" . . . . . "Quum verò audivisset Nabucodrossorus post multum temporis patris obitum, rebus in terra Ægyptiorum aliarumque regionum ordinatis et compositis, atque Judæis et Phœnicibus ac Syris, et gentibus in Ægypto captivis, quibusdam amicorum commendatis, ut eos cum gravis armaturæ copiis, nec non prædam et supellectilem apparatumque Babylonem deportarent: ipse iter faciens, pervenit (Babylonem) reperitque cuncta a Chaldæis administrata, regnumque sibi a quodam eorum nobili adservatum."—Euseb. Armen. Auch., pp. 32, 33.

[2] Oppert. [3] Smith.

eponymous in Assyria, just eighteen years before the accession of Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 745, thus—

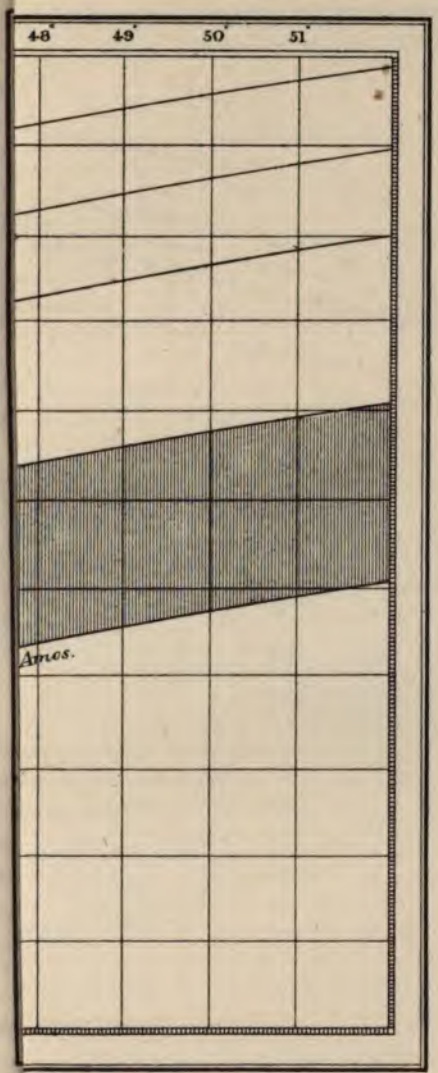
Rawlinson's Assyrian Canon of Archons Eponymous at Nineveh.

763	Bursagale,	Prefect of Gozan. Eclipse of the Sun in Sivan. Earthquake[1] in the city of Libzu.
762	Tabu-bil,	Prefect of Amidi. Earthquake at Libzu.
761	Nabu-mukin-ak,	Prefect of Ninua. Earthquake at Arbaka.
760	Lagibu,	Prefect of Qazi. Earthquake at Arbaka.
759	Inu-assur-emur,	Prefect of Arba-il. Earthquake at Gozan.
758	Bel-taggil,	Prefect of Isana. Land at rest.
757	Ninip-iddin	Prefect of Kurban.
756	Bel-kasidua,	Prefect of Parnunna.
755	Gisu,	Prefect of Mikinis.
754	Ninip-sezib-ani,	Prefect of Rimusu. Return from Ellasar.
753	Assur-nirari,	The King.
752	Samsi-el	The Tartan.
751	Maruduk-salim-anni,	Prefect of the Palace.
750	Bel-dayan,	Chief of the Eunuchs.
749	Samas-ittalik-sun,	The Tukulu.
748	Vul-bel-ukin,	The Prefect.
747	Sin-sallim-anni,	Prefect of Razappa.
746	Nergal-nazir,	Prefect of Nazibina. Earthquake at Calah.
745	Nabu-bel-uzur,	Prefect of Arbaka. Tukulti-pal-zara (Tiglath-pileser) ascended the throne 13th day of the 2nd month. Campaign in Babylonia in 7th month.
744	Bel-dayan,	Prefect of Calah.
743	Tukulti-pal-zara,	The King.
742	Nabu-danin-anni,	The Tartan.
741	Bel-karran-bel-uzur.	Prefect of the Palace.
740	Nabu-etir-anni,	Chief of the Eunuchs.
739	Sin-taggil,	The Tukulu.
738	Vul-bel-ukin,	The Prefect. Tribute taken of Menahem (king) of Samaria.

Thus from the Assyrian Canon, confirmed by this registered eclipse, we learn that Tiglath-pileser came to the

[1] This interpretation was first suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson.

To face page 152.



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throne in the course of the year B.C. 745, and from the Annals of Tiglath-pileser, published by Mr. George Smith, that he received tribute of Menahem in 738.[1]

We also know from the Second Book of Kings (xv, 19), that Menahem, "gave Pul," the predecessor of Tiglath-pileser, "a thousand talents of silver that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand": and that "in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah, or Uzziah, king of Judah" (that is in the course of that year) "began Menahem to reign over Israel, ten years in Samaria."

If then we place the last regnal year of Pul in B.C. 746, and assume that he had placed Menahem on the throne in 747, which was in the thirty-ninth of Uzziah, the year B.C. 738, or eighth year of Tiglath-pileser, will have been concurrent with the forty-eighth of Uzziah, and ninth year of Menahem, as I have said.

As regards the eclipse of 15th June, B.C. 763, Mr. Hind writes:—"In the actual state of our knowledge it is the *terminus a quo* for researches on the historical eclipses: and I believe I am correct in saying that its value, in an astronomical point of view, is greater than that attaching to the famous eclipse predicted by Thales to the Ionians, as mentioned by Herodotus."[2]

This invaluable record was first discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and announced to the public in the Athenæum of the 18th May, 1867. From henceforth the eclipse of June, B.C. 763, must be accepted as the foundation date upon which the whole scheme of dates connected with the Jewish monarchy is to be framed: in substitution for that erroneous date of the proclamation of Cyrus, B.C. 538, from which they have been calculated upwards, even to this day.[3]

[1] Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, January, 1869.

[2] Astronomical Register, No. 117, Sept. 1872.

[3] See Commentary on Ezra, Speaker's Bible, 1873. In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. xv, Part 2, 1855, the writer pointed out how the fact of the taking of tribute from Menahem by Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 738, then ascertained, confirmed the reckoning of the Jewish historian Demetrius, so altering all the commonly received dates.

By means of this eclipse also, we learn with precision the time of two important epochs in the reign of Uzziah.

1st.	The date of the last regnal year of Pul the Chaldean, "king of Assyria," that is the year immediately preceding his death	B.C. 746
2nd.	The date of the first vision of Isaiah, which fell "in the year that king Uzziah died" (Isaiah vi, 1)	734

It was probably some few years before this date that the prophet uttered that sublime outburst of prophetic poetry concerning the glorious exaltation of the Holy Land, "in the last days": when bloodshed and violence shall cease for ever within the precincts of the holy mountain: when out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem: a prediction, by the way, which by no stretch of imagination can apply to Rome and its seven hills. (Isaiah ii, 2, 3, 4; xi, 9).

Again, it is interesting to know that this solar eclipse of June, 763,[1] must be identified with that sudden noonday darkness which was foretold by the prophet Amos as about to take place, accompanied by tremblings of the earth, in connexion with the downfall of the kingdom of Samaria, and the death of Jeroboam II (Amos vii, 11; viii, 8, 9). For Amos wrote "in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the earthquake": that is to say, two years before the extraordinary series of earthquakes in and about Assyria, recorded at Nineveh as beginning in the year of the eclipse of June, 763, and three years after which Jeroboam died, in the twenty-sixth year of Uzziah, B.C. 760. At this time we read that the terror of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was such,

[1] There is nothing in the record of this eclipse in the Assyrian Canon to show that it was total at Nineveh. The Assyrian king then reigning probably dwelt at Calah, or Nimrûd. The words of Amos, however, "I will darken the earth in the clear day," necessarily imply totality. The path of total shadow, therefore, probably passed over Samaria and Galilee, just touching Nimrûd on the northern limit.

that they fled in haste from the city, and betook themselves for safety to the valley (Zech. xiv, 4, 5).

It will be observed that an unusual series of earthquakes in and about Assyria is registered in the copy of the Assyrian Canon which records the eclipse, in—

B.C. 763. Earthquake at Libzu,
762. Earthquake at Libzu,
761. Earthquake at Arbaka,
760. Earthquake at Arbaka,
759. Earthquake at Gozan,

followed by the remark in B.C. 758, "Land at rest," corresponding well with the words of Amos (ix, 5), "shall not the earth tremble for this"—"It shall be tossed up as a flood, and subside like the flood in Egypt."

The word in the Assyrian inscription is Sik-hu, or Zik-hu, and is translated by M. Oppert, "revolt," in its secondary sense. Its primary meaning was "agitation," possibly from סעה, "tempestuous," or, as I think, from זוע, "to shake," Chaldee "to tremble," from which, by transposition of letters, זעוה, "shaking," "agitation." (Gesenius). Compare also σειω, to shake, σεισμος, earthquake. Diodorus tells us that the Assyrians registered eclipses, earthquakes, and epidemics, and this is the only part of the Canon in which the Zik-hu have been found. If the word was intended to represent "revolts," the Canon ought to be filled with them.

And here I would beg leave to point out how the recovery of this long hidden record of the earthquakes of this period bears upon the future history of this world; reminding those who are willing to be reminded, that we are plainly told to look for the recurrence of this self-same awful signal in the East, at the self-same sacred spot, and on a still more awful scale: and also marked by a similar literal flight of the dismayed inhabitants of Jerusalem to the valley, "as they fled in the days of Uzziah": when the feet of that august and benignant being in human form, who left the world proclaiming the reign of violence and bloodshed upon earth, shall stand again upon the Mount of Olives

inaugurating peace: when "living waters shall go out from Jerusalem." (Zech. xiv, 2—8.)

In opposition to the foregoing scheme of reckoning, another system of Jewish dates has been put forth under the authority of Dr. Oppert, Mons. Lenormant, and other French writers, which runs thus:—

Death of Jeroboam II ..	..	B.C. 786
Death of Uzziah ..	..	758
Death of Jotham ..	..	742

The unsoundness of this reckoning[1] is easily perceived, when we consider that there is every reason to believe that the prophet Isaiah lived till after the accession of Esarhaddon to the throne of Nineveh, in B.C. 680, which is a fixed date (Isaiah xxxvii, 38). If, therefore, he had uttered prophecies before the death of Uzziah, earlier than 758 as here supposed, say at the age of about twenty years, he would appear to have lived for upwards of one hundred years, for which there is no authority. On the other hand if he began to prophecy before the death of Uzziah in B.C. 734, he may have died at the more probable age of between seventy and eighty.

Again there is another scheme which is supported by Niebuhr and Lepsius, the object of which is, by shortening the fifty-five years' reign of Manasseh king of Judah to thirty-five, to retain Ptolemy's date for the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 604, while rectifying some of the earlier dates. This scheme, however, may be disposed of with equal facility, if we accept the statement of Herodotus, that Queen Nitocris the mother of Nebuchadnezzar, or Labynetus II, held the reins of government at Babylon just five generations later than Semiramis,[2] that is to say about one hundred and sixty-six years, according to his computation of three generations to a century. For we learn from an inscription in

[1] See Lenormant's "Manual of the Ancient History of the East," 1869, vol. i, p. 150; and Oppert's Chronologie Biblique. Revue Archéologique, Dec. 1868.

[2] Herod. i, 185.

the British Museum, in connection with a statue of the god Nebo, found by Mr. Loftus, and in the same collection, that Semiramis, or Sammuramat, was the wife of the predecessor of Tiglath-pileser, that is of Pul, who died about the year B.C. 746. Now the legend concerning Semiramis is, that she imprisoned, if not murdered, her husband, and that having married one of the officers about the palace[1] (probably Nabonassar), she set up her government thenceforth at Babylon. Now, if we count one hundred and sixty-six years downwards from B.C. 747, the first year of Nabonassar, or from B.C 746, the last year of Pul, it will lead us, not to the year 604, but to the year B.C. 581, that is to the time when Nitocris was left a widow by the death of Nabopalassar, or Labynetus I, her husband. And of Nitocris it is related that, being fearful of the restless spirit and growing power of the Medes, and seeing how Nineveh and other cities had fallen before them, she immediately began to fortify Babylon by a system of canals and embankments. This therefore must have happened about the year B.C. 581, and after the fall of Nineveh, and while she was probably carrying on the government on behalf of her son Nebuchadnezzar, who was then much absent from Babylon on warlike expeditions.

There is yet one other point which requires explanation before I quit the subject of the Hebrew date of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as reckoned in the Bible. We have already seen (p. 151) how Josephus, quoting Berosus, in his controversy with Apion, relates that Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar died at Babylon while his son was in Egypt, after a reign of *twenty-nine* years. Now, there is no question that Nabopalassar began to reign in the year B.C. 625, as proved by an eclipse registered at Babylon in his fifth year, B.C. 621. But twenty-nine years counted from the year 625 to the accession of Nebuchadnezzar brings us to the year B.C. 596 for the first year of this king's reign, a date which agrees neither with Ptolemy, nor with the system of dates which I propose. It is accepted, however, by Clement of Alexandria, who is a weighty, though not infallible, authority.

[1] Agathias ii, 25.

Nevertheless, it is a date which cannot possibly be correct. The difficulty of the question arises from the almost universal practice of omitting the twenty-eight years of Scythian dominion from the ordinary schemes of Assyrian chronology, a period so emphatically marked by Herodotus by thrice repeating the figures. When these twenty-eight years are inserted, as they must be, between the time of the subjection of Assyria to the Scythians and the conquest of Nineveh by the Medes, the difficulty concerning the twenty-nine years reign of Nabopalassar is thus naturally explained. Nabopalassar, when he revolted from Assyria, became not only king of Babylon, but also king of Nineveh in B.C. 625. He was, in fact, the king described in the Book of Judith[1] as "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh." Now, it was in the sixteenth year of his reign over Nineveh that the Scythians came to his assistance and saved Nineveh from destruction by the army of Cyaxares, who came to avenge his father's death, that is in the year B.C. 610, as will be presently shown on the authority of Abydenus: and twenty-eight years counted from thence, exclusive of the sixteen years of reign before their arrival, brings us to the year B.C. 583, when Nineveh was finally destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares, and Saracus perished in the flames. The *twenty-nine* years' reign, therefore, of Nabopalassar spoken of by Berosus has reference to the twenty-nine years which elapsed from the time of his subjection to the Scythians in B.C. 610; for either the Scythians, or the Babylonians seem to have begun to compute a new era in Assyria from the time of Scythian occupation, though Nabopalassar still lingered on at Nineveh. As, therefore, the twenty-eighth year of this era was B.C. 583, so this twenty-ninth year of the era was concurrent with the year B.C. 582, which was the last year of Nabopalassar in Babylon. Again, we have the thirtieth year of the same era

[1] Mr. Clinton saw clearly that Sardanapalus was "the same person as Nabuchodonosor of the Book of Judith,"—and reckoned that he began to reign forty-four years before the destruction of Nineveh, vol. i, p. 277. The real interval is forty-two years. If he had followed Polyhistor, and had identified Sardanapalus with Nabopalassar also, he would have counted forty-two years from B.C. 625, and so have arrived at the true date of the destruction of Nineveh.

recorded by Ezekiel (i, 1), where he speaks of himself as being amongst the captives encamped by the river Chebar; that is to say, amongst the captives sent home by Nebuchadnezzar in his first year, B.C. 581, and who were on their way towards Babylon, while he hastened home with a few companions to take the throne (p. 151). Now the year here referred to by Ezekiel is specially marked as the fifth year of the captivity of king Jehoiakim, "*τοῦτο το ἔτος το πεμπτον τῆς ἀιχμαλωσίας τοῦ βασιλέως Ιωακειμ*," according to the Septuagint interpreter, that is the fifth year of the subjugation of Jehoiakim by Pharaoh-Necho, who changed his name from Eliakim, in token of his vassalage, and set him up as tributary king, being the year also in which Nebuchadnezzar either dethroned or put to death Necho, just before he took the throne: after which Jehoiakim served *him*. Not, as erroneously written in the Hebrew Bible, "the fifth year of the captivity of king Jehoiachin," or Jechoniah, which was eleven years later.[1]

On the whole, then, it is clear that if, as all now admit, Tiglath-pileser came to the throne in B.C. 745, and that the year in which Menahem king of Israel paid tribute to that king was B.C. 738, the only conclusion which can be arrived at, without altering the Hebrew reckoning as preserved by the priests at Jerusalem, is,—

1. That Nineveh was destroyed in the year B.C. 583.
2. That Nebuchadnezzar counted his reign from Nisan B.C. 581.

Thus far as concerns the date of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar contained in the sacred writings of the Jews. The same date has also been preserved in Jewish secular history, by one who lived in those days of historical inquiry which followed the establishment of the Greek empire in the East. I once more refer to the reckoning of Demetrius, as given by Clement of Alexandria (Vol. I, p. 208–9), who counted the reigns of the kings of Judah upwards from the reign of Ptolemy IV, and determined especially the dates of the three captivities of Judah and Israel, under Shalmanezer,

[1] Ezek. i, 2, is evidently merely an insertion of some early interpreter.

Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar. From which we obtain the following result :—

		B.C.
Hezekiah ..	29 years	702
Manasseh ..	55 „	673
Amon ..	2 „	618
Josiah .	31 „	616
Jehoahaz ..	3 months	586
Jehoiakim	11 years	585
Jechoniah..	3 months	574
Zedekiah ..	11 years	573
"The last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar," in his twenty-third year,		559

But if the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar was concurrent with the year B.C. 559, his first year in Babylon must have been reckoned from the first month, Nisan, of the year B.C. 581. So that whether we reckon downwards from the eclipse recorded at Nineveh in B.C. 763, or upwards from the reign of Ptolemy IV in B.C. 222, we arrive at precisely the same result, which cannot, therefore, but be correct.

The only other writer on Jewish history to whom we can refer is Josephus. Now Josephus has indeed adopted a date for the proclamation of Cyrus which no one in these days would be willing to accept, and has so thrown much confusion into Hebrew chronology. Nevertheless, he has preserved the correct interval between the captivity of the ten tribes, in the seventh year of Hezekiah as he places it, and the first year of Cyrus, when the temple of Jerusalem was commanded to be rebuilt, that is "one hundred and eighty-two years and a-half," as set forth in detail in the tenth book of his Antiquities.

Now, according to Demetrius, the ten tribes were carried away from Samaria 473 years and nine months before Ptolemy IV, that is in February B.C. 695, the capture of Samaria having taken place in B.C. 696. And this year agrees, as I have elsewhere shown, with the date of the captivity long preserved by the descendants of the ten tribes, that is by

the Caraite Jews of the Crimea,[1] as witnessed by several ancient tombstones found at Tschufukale, which have been carried up to St. Petersburgh, and which are now in the library of the Academy, bearing by computation the date B.C. 696.

If then we deduct 182½ years from B.C. February 695, we come to August B.C. 514 for the last regnal year of Nabonidus, or Nabonidochus king of Babylon; and in the following year B.C. 513, just fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus son of Cambyses drove him from the throne, in the seventeenth year of his reign, as Berosus relates. The nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar therefore was B.C. 563, and his first year B.C. 581, as laid down in Vol. I, p. 233.

II. *Date of the Fall of Nineveh, and First Year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Median Chronology.*

Herodotus has preserved the record of the reigns of the successive kings of Media from the time of their first independence of Assyria, thus—

Deioces reigned	53	years.
Phraortes „	22	„
Cyaxares „	40	„
Astyages „	35	„
	150	years.

And he has told us that Cyaxares was the king who finally destroyed Nineveh, and that one of the battles which he fought was in the night, that is during a sudden darkness caused by an eclipse of the sun which had been precalculated by Thales. This eclipse affords the chief mark of time by which Median chronology is to be determined.

Concerning this eclipse, the Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airy, in a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, Feb., 1853, "expressed his opinion that the date B.C. 585 was now established for the eclipse of Thales beyond the possibility of doubt." Mr. Hind also, who is daily engaged

[1] See facsimiles of three of these tombstones in the Preface to "Messiah the Prince."

in calculations of this sort, with the assistance of the best lunar and solar tables of the present day, writes thus in the Astronomical Register of Sept., 1872:—"This eclipse which, as Herodotus informs us, terminated the six years' war between the Medes and Lydians under Cyaxares and Alyattes, when during a battle day was suddenly turned into night, has greatly exercised both the chronologist and the astronomer, and, although misled by imperfect tables of the lunar motions, they have fixed upon other eclipses from time to time, it has been known for some years past that the date distinctly assigned by Pliny, (the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad), is the correct one." Cyaxares, therefore, was living till after the year B.C. 585. And it was in this year that Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus son of Cambyses, married the daughter of Alyattes, as Herodotus tells us (Herod. i, 74). So that the forty years' reign of Cyaxares could not begin earlier than B.C. 623: and those are in error who would place his accession in B.C. 634, and that of Astyages in B.C. 593.[1] We can gather nothing certain from Herodotus concerning the accession of these two kings. His reckoning indeed would lead to the conclusion that Cyrus son of Cambyses conquered his grandfather Astyages and put an end to his reign, some twenty-five years after his grandfather married, which is somewhat difficult to believe.

The true reckoning of Median chronology may, however, be recovered from what he relates concerning the death of Phraortes the father of Cyaxares, who made war upon the king of Nineveh, and was slain in battle (Herod. i, 109). The date of this battle could not of course have been earlier than the year B.C. 624, that is to say not earlier than the year preceding the earliest possible date for the accession of his son. The king of Nineveh that slew Phraortes was not therefore Assurbanipal, who reigned not more than forty-two years and died in B.C. 626. Nor was it during the reigns of Saosduchinus and Kiniladanus at Babylon, the brothers of Assurbanipal, and whose joint reigns lasted forty-two years, that Phraortes died. It was therefore somewhere in the

[1] Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, vol. iii, p. 216.

reign of Nabopalassar father of Nebuchadnezzar, who became king of Nineveh, and also king of Babylon, in B.C. 625, that Phraortes was slain.

Now I have already observed that Assurbanipal, who reigned forty-two years, is the same Assyrian king, called Acraganes, who reigned forty-two years, in the list of Assyrian kings given by Castor and Abydenus; and that this king was succeeded on the throne of Nineveh by Sardanapalus, who also was called Thonosconcolerus, or Machoscolerus. Again I have shown that Polyhistor, copying probably from Berosus, speaks of Sardanapalus as the father of Nebuchadnezzar.[1]

Thonosconcolerus, or Machoscolerus, is evidently merely a corruption of Nabochodonerus, or Nabuchodonozor; and Sardanapalus, therefore, is, as Polyhistor says, the same as Nabopalassar father of Nebuchadnezzar, who began to reign in B.C. 625, and he who is called in the Book of Judith "Nebuchodonozor who reigned at Nineveh."

Since, therefore, Nabuchodonozor made war with Arphaxad, or Phraortes, "who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane," in his twelfth year,[2] B.C. 614, and slew him on the mountains of Ragau, the first year of Cyaxares his son was B.C. 613. And thus we ascertain with precision the dates of accession of the four kings of Media:—

Deioces reigned	53	years	from B.C.	688
Phraortes „	22	„	„	635
Cyaxares „	40	„	„	613
Astyages „	35	„	„	573 to 539

As regards the first of these dates, B.C. 688, it is the year which Demetrius has preserved as that in which Sennacherib carried off captives from Judæa to Nineveh, after threatening Hezekiah in his fourteenth year. And Josephus remarks, that it was "at this time that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes."[3] The expression is some-

[1] See Smith's Assurbanipal, pp. 352–354.

[2] "Anno igiter duodecimo." Vulgate.—"Anno decimo tertio." Syriac.

[3] Jos. Ant. x, ii, 2.

what too strong. But it marks decidedly the time of the setting up of the throne of Deioces about the year B.C. 688.

Canon of Kings of Assyria and of the Medes.

Astronomical Canon. Syncellus, Vol. I, p. 390.			Ecclesiastical Canon. Syncellus, p. 392.			Canon of Ptolemy.		
		B.C.			B.C.			B.C.
14	Nabonassar = Salmanazir	747	25	Nabonassar = Salmanazir	747	14	Nabonassar	747
2	Nabius	733	8	Nabius	722	2	Nadius	733
5	Chinzerus and Porus	731	5	Chinzerus and Porus	714	5	Chinzeras and Porus	731
5	Ilulaeus	726	5	.. ..	709	5	Ilulæus	726
12	Mardocempadus	721	12	.. ..	704	12	Mardocempadus ..	721
5	Arceanus	709	5	.. ..	692	5	Arkeanus	709
2	Interregnum	704	2	.. ..	687	2	Interregnum.. ..	704
3	Belibus	702	3	.. ..	685	3	Belibus	702
6	Aparanadisus	699	6	.. ..	682	6	Apronadius	699
1	Irigebalus..	693	1	.. ..	676	1	Regebelus	693
4	Mesesimordacus	692	4	.. ..	675	4	Mesesimordac ..	692
8	Interregnum	688	8	.. ..	671	8	Interregnum.. ..	688
13	Isarindinus	680	13	.. ..	663	13	Assaradinus	680
9	Saosduchinus	667	9	.. ..	650	20	Saosduchinus ..	667
14	Ciniladalus	658	14	.. ..	641	22	Kiniladanus	647
21	Nabopalassar, father of Nabuchodonosor	644	21	.. ..	627	21	Nabopolassar ..	625
43	Nabupalassar who is Nabuchodonosor..	623	43	.. ..	606	43	Nabokolassar ..	604
3	Illuarudam	580	5	.. ..	563	2	Iluarodam	561
5	Neregasolasar	577	3	Nereglissar = Belshazzar	558	4	Neregassolassar ..	559
34	Nabonadius who is Astyages ..	572 to 539	17	Nabonadius = Astyages	555 to 539	17	Nabonadius ..	555 to 539
	Cyrus	538		Cyrus	538		Cyrus	538

As regards the last of these dates, B.C. 539, as marking the death of Astyages, it is the Median date preserved in two copies of the Astronomical Canon of the Kings of Babylon and Media: and I see no reason why these early records of Median chronology should be set aside by Ptolemy's Canon. On the contrary, I believe that the year B.C. 539 for the death of Astyages, and 538 for the first year of Cyrus over the Medes, are two well-established dates from the earliest tradition, and not to be altered. They are, I think, referred to as well known points of time requiring no explanation, at the beginning of an aprocryphal book written before the Christian era, which refers to these two kings in succession, thus: "And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia *received* his kingdom."[1] That is to say, Cyrus the father of Cambyses who had conquered Astyages, and who buried Astyages with kingly honours in 539, received the kingdom of Media in 538 in succession, as having married his daughter Amytis, and died in battle with Tomyris three years after, that is, 536, when Darius Hystaspes was about twenty years of age.[2]

I feel no hesitation, therefore, in fixing the first year of Cyaxares in B.C. 613: and in assuming that about the fourth year of his reign, 610, he was encountered by the Scythians, who found him in the act of beseiging Nineveh. The Scythians from thenceforth obtained dominion in Asia for twenty-eight years, till the year B.C. 583: when the Medes again expelled them and destroyed Nineveh: soon after which Nebuchadnezzar began to reign after his father's death, in B.C. 581.

Thus, as I have before observed (Vol. I, p. 252), the eclipse of the year B.C. 763 compels us to lower the date of the forty-ninth year of Uzziah just twenty-five years, from 762 to 737. The eclipse of Thales, B.C. 585, leads to the lowering of the date of the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to about the same extent. And a third eclipse, B.C. 689, also recognised by Mr. Hind as that which occurred in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, compels us to lower the date of that year from B.C. 714 to 689, just twenty-five years.

[1] Bel and the Dragon. [2] Herod. i, 209.

III.—*Date of the Fall of Nineveh, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzer, according to Assyrian and Babylonian Chronology.*

We have already seen (p. 148) how Abydenus, copying from Berosus, speaks of Saracus as the reigning king of Nineveh at the time of the final overthrow of the Assyrian empire by the Babylonians and Medes: and how Saracus came to the throne of Assyria after the fall of Sardanapalus, the last of the dynasty of Ninus. From this it appears that Saracus must not be confounded with Sardanapalus, as many are inclined to do. On the other hand Abydenus agrees with Herodotus, that an intermediate kingdom had arisen at Nineveh between the fall of the Assyrian and the rise of the Median empire. There is another valuable passage in Eusebius in which he has preserved from Abydenus the exact date of the overthrow of Sardanapalus. Referring to Abydenus, Eusebius writes:[1]—"The Chaldeans thus reckon the kings of their country from Alorus to Alexander. They do not profess to relate the particulars of the reign of Ninus and Semiramis. But (Abydenus) having said so much, deduces the origin of their history from thence. Ninus, he says, was the son of Arbelus, who was son of Chaalus, who was son of Arbelus, who was son of Anebus, who was son of Babius, who was son of Belus king of the Assyrians. He then enumerates the several kings from Ninus and Semiramis down to Sardanapalus, who was the last of all the kings: from whom to the date of the first Olympiad was a period of (read 167) years." The figure in the text as it stands is

[1] Hoc pacto Chaldæi suæ regionis reges ab Aloro usque ad Alexandrum recensent: de Nino et Semiramide nulla ipsis cura est. Hæc cum dixisset, jaminde historiæ exordium ducit. Fuit, inquit, Ninus Arbeli filius, qui Chaali, qui Arbele, qui Anebi, qui Babii, qui Beli regis Assyriorum. Deinde singulos a Nino et Semiramide recenset, usque ad Sardanapallum, *qui fuit omnium postremus:* a quo usque ad primum Olympiadem efficiunter 67 anni Abidenus itaque de regno Assyriorum singillatim ita scripsit. At non ipse solum, sed etiam Castor in primo Chronicorum brevi volumine, ad hujus exempli formam syllabatim quidem de Assyriorum regno enarrat.—Euseb. Arm. Auch. 37, 38, 39.

67. This however is clearly either an error in transcribing, or perhaps more probably an intentional alteration made with the view of bringing the reckoning of Abydenus into harmony with the year of accession of an earlier Assyrian king called Sardanapalus (Assur-dannin-pal), who usurped the throne of his father Shalmanezer II, and gained possession of twenty-seven places and their fortresses, probably in the year B.C. 843, just sixty-seven years before the first Olympiad.[1] It is unreasonable to suppose that Abydenus contradicted himself to the extent of two hundred years in two adjoining passages: and I am surprised that Mr. Clinton[2] should for a moment have entertained such a possibility. Abydenus, in the passage before us, is speaking of Sardanapalus "*the last of all the kings*," who in the previous passage he had placed in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He must therefore have intended to record that Sardanapalus was deprived[3] of the empire of Assyria 167 years after the first Olympiad (B.C. 776-5), that is to say, in the year B.C. 610-9 It must also, I think, be assumed that the date was so understood down to the time of Eusebius, who places the overthrow of Nineveh by Cyaxares in the forty-third Olympiad, B.C. 608, counting from the end of the first year of the first Olympiad, July, 775. The figure thus restored forms an invaluable foundation upon which to reconstruct Assyrian chronology, and to reduce into harmony many conflicting records concerning it. The power of Assyria, according to

[1] See Dr. Haigh. Zeitschrift für Ägypt. Sprache. July, 1870. Concerning this king M. Oppert writes, from the annals of his brother Samas-Hou, or Shamsi-vul:—"Je dis: Sardanapale (Assur-dannin-palla) traîna un complot perfide contre son père Salmanassar, et se fit entrainer à des instincts de vengeance, et émeuta le pays. il prépara la guerre, et se concilia les hommes d'Assyrie, de la haute et de la basse: il fortifia les villes . . . et se prépara a livrer combat et bataille. Les villes de—(*giving the names*), 27 localités et leur forteresses se revoltérent contre Salmanasar roi des quatre régions, mon père, et se déclarèrent pour Sardanapale. A l'aide des grands dieux, mes maitres, je les soumis a mon empire."—(Histoire des empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie, p. 123). The revolt he supposes to have lasted five years, I think it was nineteen, as suggested in Appendix to Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 382.

[2] Clinton, Fast. Hell., vol. i, p. 273.

[3] This is the expression of Kleitarchus:—*γήρα τελευτῆσαι φησι Σαρδανάπαλλον μετα τήν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς Συρων ἀρχῆς.*

this record, was destroyed in the year B.C. 610-9, by the victory of the Medes over Sardanapalus, as Herodotus also relates. The city of Nineveh, however, was not then destroyed. The final catastrophe, Herodotus tells us, was delayed for twenty-eight years by the sudden arrival of the Scythians, who from thenceforth held supremacy in the empire till they were expelled by Cyaxares in B.C. 583.

That the first expedition of Cyaxares against Nineveh, and the first year of Scythian domination over Asia, fell in the year B.C. 610, is also ascertained with astronomical exactness thus:—Ferdoûsi, the Persian historian and poet, relates that, in the reign of Kai-Kaiûs, or Cyaxares king of Media, that king made an expedition against Hamaver, which place is identified with Nineveh, and that at that time a battle was fought in the province of Mazenderan, towards the foot of the Caspian Sea, say in latitude 37° N., and also that Kai-Kaiûs and his army were suddenly struck with blindness, as had been foretold by a magician. "This expedition against Hamaver mentioned in the Shah Nameh," writes Sir John Malcolm, "seems to be the siege of Nineveh recorded by the Greek writers, who agree with Ferdousi in stating that the operations were interrupted by an invasion of the Scythians":[1] and this is strongly supported by the fact that the battle with the Medes was fought near the Caspian. For Herodotus is very precise in describing the route taken by the Scythians from the Palus Mœotis, or Sea of Azoff, as not along the coast of the Black Sea, but by marching with the Caucasus on their right, and entering Media say through the opening between the Caucasus and the Caspian, in latitude 41°. All agree that the sudden blindness of Kai-Kaiûs has reference to the darkness of a total solar eclipse: and in the year 1853, in the course of an examination of the paths of the three solar eclipses of B.C. 610, 603, and 585, the only possible eclipses applicable to that foretold by Thales, Mr. Airy[2] laid down the line of the eclipse of B.C. 610 as not passing over Asia Minor, but north of the Sea of Azoff and over Astrachan, towards the head of the

[1] Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i, p. 219.
[2] See Sir G. Airy's paper in Phil. Trans., 1853.

The distance from the Palus Mœotis to the
is but a short journey, the Aspirians being t
straight course took the upper route which i

Caspian. But if it is true that Kai-Kaiûs fell under the shadow of a total eclipse about the time of his first attack upon Nineveh, this is the only eclipse which could have caused the darkness. The true path of the eclipse must, therefore, have been south, not north of the Caucasus, and the date of the expedition neither sooner nor later than B.C. 610.

Eusebius goes on to state that Castor had written precisely to the same effect as Abydenus, as in the following extract from the Canon of Castor:—"The Assyrian kings began with Belus. But since we have no certain tradition of the length of his reign, we only mention the name. The beginning of the chronology we calculate from Ninus, and we end with the reign (that is the dynasty) of another Ninus, who received the empire after Sardanapalus. So that the whole period of the dynasty as well as the period of each individual reign is apparent. And thus we find that the whole period covered the space of 1,280 years. This is the testimony of Castor."[1] This passage must have been in the memory of St. Augustine when he wrote (Civ. D. xviii) —"According to the writings of those who have studied chronological history, this empire lasted 1,280 years, from the first year in which Ninus began to reign till it was transferred to the Medes."[2] If, then, we add 1,280 years to the year B.C. 610–9, we find that Ninus and Semiramis (that is the first Semiramis of Assyrian history) began to reign in the year B.C. 1889. Nothing can be more plain and precise than the reckoning of these two chronologists: and nothing more clear than that Eusebius adopted their reckoning, as far as regards the date of the fall of Sardanapalus, about the year B.C. 609–8.

Again, Eusebius refers to the testimony of Ctesias the Cnidian,[3] contained in his second book, as copied by Diodorus,

[1] Euseb. Arm. Auch., p. 40.

[2] Abydenus and Castor do not say that the empire was then transferred to the Medes.

[3] Similiter ei inquit, et alii reges a patre filius imperium accepiebant, regnaveruntque a progenie in progeniam usque ad Sardanapallum. Sub eo enim regnum Assyriorum ad Medas translatum est, quum mille trecentos et amplius annos perdurasset prout Ctesias Cnidius in secundo libro tradit (Euseb. Arm., p. 41).

who also reckons from Ninus to Sardanapalus, and records that in his reign the empire was *transferred to the Medes* after it had lasted upwards of 1,300 years. The exact figure, as copied by Agathias, is 1,306 years.[1] And, again, St. Augustine confirms the reckoning when he writes:—"The empire was transferred to the Medes after about 1,305 years.' Augustine, however, endeavours to reconcile this reckoning with that of Abydenus, by suggesting that Ctesias counted from Belus the father of Ninus, instead of Ninus himself;[2] whereas the true explanation is, that Ctesias drew his account from the Persian or Median annals, and finding there no recognition of the overthrow of the Medes by the Scythians and their subsequent supremacy in Asia, which certainly took place, has made no mention of those twenty-eight years, but passes at once to the time of the final destruction of Nineveh by the Medes at the end of that time, placing it correctly within the lifetime of Sardanapalus: while we know from the accurate account of the Chaldeans that it was in the reign of Saracus, his successor and contemporary, that the final overthrow of Nineveh took place. Ctesias has thus preserved the true interval of time between the reign of Ninus and the destruction of the city and transfer of empire to the Medes. And if we deduct 1,306 years from the date of the accession of Ninus, B.C. 1889, we arrive at the year B.C. 583 for the expulsion of the Scythians and dominion of the Medes.

Thus it appears that whether we follow Jewish, Median, or Chaldean reckoning, we arrive at the same definite result:—

	B.C.
I. That the destruction of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians took place in ..	583
II. That Nebuchadnezzar, who came to the throne soon after the fall of Nineveh, began to reign about	581

With this plain conclusion we might be content to quit the Assyrian reckoning, were it not that Diodorus in another

[1] Agathias ii, 25, p. 120. [2] See Clinton, vol. i, p. 268.

passage, quoting probably from Bion and Polyhistor,[1] writes: —"The empire of the Assyrians from Ninus, after lasting thirty generations and more than 1,400 years, was destroyed by the Medes,"[2] which statement leads into another wide field of figures: for he thus raises the first year of Ninus from B.C. 1889 to, say, B.C. 1989. It is usual to correct τετρακοσίων into τριακοσίων. But I doubt whether the passage can be so easily dismissed. Diodorus was probably perplexed between two reckonings of the same period differing to the extent of 100 years, as the librarian of Assurbanipal, some 600 years before him, had been perplexed between two copies of the original document which differed exactly to the same extent. Polyhistor confessedly took Berosus for his authority; and his extracts from that historian are much enhanced in value since the recovery by Mr. Smith of the Chaldean tablet relating the history of the deluge, which so closely agrees with his account. Eusebius writes:—"Polyhistor also adds that after the deluge Evexius held the territory of the Chaldeans for a period of four ners. And after him his son Comasbelus held the empire for a period of four ners and five sosses. But from Xisuthrus, and from the time of the deluge to the time when the Medes took Babylon, Polyhistor reckons altogether eighty-six kings, naming each from the volume of Berosus, the time comprehended being 33,091 years. (?) After these had been thus firmly established, the Medes suddenly brought up their forces against Babylon, to take it and to place rulers taken from amongst themselves over it. Then he gives the names of the Median kings, eight in number, who reigned 224 years: and, again, eleven kings who reigned — years: and after this, forty-nine Chaldean kings who reigned 458 years: then nine Arabian kings for 245 years. And after this he speaks of the reign of Semiramis, and accurately names forty-five kings who reigned 526 years, after which a king of the Chaldeans named Phul came to the throne."[3]

[1] Agathias ii, 95.

[2] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἀπὸ Νίνου διαμείνασα μὲν τριάκοντα γενεὰς ἔτη δὲ πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων, ὑπο Μήδων κατελύθη.—Diod. ii, 81.

[3] Euseb. Arm. 19, 20.

This mention of the name of Phul, whose last year we have already ascertained was B.C. 746, affords another valuable element in the reconstruction of Assyrian chronology, when taken in connexion with the history of the eighth campaign of Assurbanipal (B.C. 651), who made war upon the king of Elam, and brought back the image of Nana which had been carried off from Erech, or Warka, by the king of Elam, Kudurnanhundi.

2 ners	=	1,200 years
7 sosses	=	420 „
15 years	..	15 „
		1,635 years[2] before that time.

For we know from the Assyrian Canon that the year B.C. 788 was the termination of a cycle, and by deducting 120 years, or two sosses, from these dates, we come to the year B.C. 668, as the termination of another cycle. And since the herald of Assurbanipal was sent to the king of Elam after the fifteenth year counted from 668 to demand restitution of Nana's image, that is about the year B.C. 652, and Mr. Smith reckons that the eighth campaign of Assurbanipal took place in 651,[3] when the image was restored; by adding 1,635 years to that date we arrive at the year B.C. 2286 as the date of the invasion of Babylonia by the Elamites, called Medes by Polyhistor; and from this year we have to reckon down to the accession or invasion of Pul.

Mr. Smith informs us that there are several copies of the inscription in the British Museum which bear this figure 1,635. But he also adds that there are three copies which contain the figure 1,535, and probably there were many more which followed that reckoning. So that there was uncertainty concerning the true date of the first Median invasion, to the extent of one hundred years, even in the days of Assurbanipal. This will account for many descrepancies between the different writers on Assyrian history. Ctesias appears to have adopted the shorter date, when he

[1] See Smith's Assurbanipal, pp. 249, 251, 254.

[2] Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache Nov., 1868, p. 116

places the first year of Ninus in B.C. 1889, with Castor and Abydenus: and from thence concludes that the beginning of the Assyrian empire was more than 1,000 years before the taking of Troy[1] (B.C. 1183 or 1184), leading to the date B.C. 2186. Æmilius Sura also counts 1,995 years from the conquest of Antiochus in Assyria by the Romans, to the beginning of the first Assyrian empire, thus correctly preserving the date B.C. 2185, though wrongly naming this as the date of Ninus.[2] On the other hand, Diodorus places the reign of Ninus in B.C. 1989, leading up to the year B.C. 2286 as the date of the earliest empire in Assyria. And Syncellus also places the first year of Belus in anno mundi 3216=B.C. 2286, that is 1,460 years before the reign of Arbaces who slew Sardanapalus, or Assur-dannin-pal, which event he places in B.C. 826. Thus correctly preserving the date B.C. 2286, and not entirely wrong in his mode of arriving at it, though Belus was not then king.

Thus we have presented to us a choice of two modes of reckoning:—

According to Diodorus and Syncellus, following Polyhistor.			B.C.	*According to Diodorus and Æmilius Sura, following Abydenus, Castor, and Ctesias.*			B.C.
Elamites or Medes	224	years from	2286	Elamites	224	years from	2186
Eleven Kings	73	„	2062	Eleven Kings	73	„	1962
Ninus and Semiramis	458	„	1989	Ninus	458	„	1889
Arabians	245	„	1531	Arabians	145(?)	„	1531
Assyrians	526	„	1286	Assyrians	526	„	1286
Pul the Chaldean		from	760 to 746	Pul		.... from	760 to 746

The first of these computations is preferable to the second. For each date in the reckoning rests upon authority without any alteration, and thus the reign of Pul becomes fixed between B.C. 760 and 746, so leading down to the

[1] Ταυτάνου γὰρ Βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ὃς ἦν κε᾽ ἀπὸ Νίνου του Σεμιῤάμιδος, φασὶ τοὺς μετὰ Αγαμέμνονος Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεῦσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων της Ἀσιας Ἀσσυρίων ἔτη πλείων τῶν χιλίων.—Syncellus, 166.

[2] See Clinton, vol. i, p. 264.

accession of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 581. The second computation requires an alteration of one hundred years in the Arabian dynasty. Mr. Smith's new discoveries, which may perhaps comprise the twelfth Chaldean tablet, which is missing, from whence the above figures were derived, may perhaps decide between these two modes of adjustment of Assyrian chronology.

Now whether we count 1635 downwards from B.C. 2286, or 1535 from B.C. 2186, we arrive at the same year B.C. 652. And this was the year, according to the annals of Assurbanipal, in which Psammetichus threw off the yoke of Assyria. If Psammetichus, therefore, began to reign in B.C. 652, then did his son Necho II die, as will be shown under the head of Egyptian Chronology, just seventy years after that date, in B.C. 582, in the year when Nebuchadnezzar smote the army of Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish.

IV.—*Date of the Fall of Nineveh, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Egyptian Chronology.*

The argument derived from Egyptian chronology is extremely simple and interesting. No one will be inclined to dispute the authority of the Assyrian Canon, which shows that Esarhaddon came to the throne of Nineveh and Babylon in the year B.C. 681: nor the authority of the cylinders of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, from which we learn that after being engaged in several wars till about the year B.C. 670, he made an expedition into Egypt, drove from thence Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, and divided Egypt into twenty provinces subject to Assyria, with governors composed partly of Egyptian princes, partly of Assyrians, and died about the year B.C. 668. In that year he was succeeded by his son Assurbanipal, which was the year when Marlarmi was archon eponymous at Nineveh. Thus far the chronology is certain and exact.

We next come to the interesting annals of Assurbanipal, the translation of which by Mr. George Smith is sufficiently well known. Now Assurbanipal begins his history thus:—

"Tirhakah king of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom my father Esarhaddon had overthrown and taken the country from him, despising the power of Assur, Ishtar, and the great gods my lords, and trusting in his own might, came up against the kings and governors set up by my father in Egypt, slaying, plundering, and carrying captive. He set himself up at Memphis, the city which my father had added to Assyria. I was walking round in the midst of Nineveh when one came and told me this. My heart was bitterly afflicted. I collected my army. I directed my march to Egypt and Ethiopia. I accomplished the overthrow of his army.

Necho	king of Memphis and Sais
Sarludari	king of Pelusium (?)
Pisanhor	king of Nectho
Paqruru	king of Piscept
Pukkunanni-hafi	king of Atribis
Na-ah-ke-e	king of Henius
Petubastes	king of Tanis
Unamunu	king of Natho
Horsiesis	king of Sebennytus
Buaiuva	king of Mendes
Sheshonk	king of Busiris
Tnephachthus	king of Bunubu
Pukkunannihafi	king of Akhni
Iptikhardesu	king of Pazatti-hurunpiku
Necht-hor-ansini	king of Pisabdinut
Bukur-ninip	king of Pachnut
Zikha	king of Siyout
Lamintu	king of Chemmis
Ispimathu	king of Abydos
Munti-mi-anche	king of Thebes

These kings, prefects, and governors, whom my father had appointed over Egypt, and who had left their appointments and fled to the desert, I restored. I bound them more strongly in covenant. I returned in peace to Nineveh."[1] And thus it appears that these kings and governors, after

[1] George Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 15.

a short period of confusion and anarchy, were replaced in power, say, about the year B.C. 667.

Let us now refer to Diodorus Siculus, who was well acquainted with Egyptian history. Diodorus relates, that when the king of Ethiopia, whom he inadvertently calls Sabaco, but whom we know from the Assyrian annals was Tirhakah, had, in obedience to a vision, departed from Egypt, and retired into Ethiopia, (the Ethiopian annals of course not recognising his overthrow by the Assyrians,) there was anarchy in Egypt for two years, that is to say during the two years after his withdrawal or expulsion, B.C. 669, 668, and the whole country was subject to tumult and bloodshed. Diodorus then goes on to say that twelve of the principal governors conspired together at Memphis, and, having sworn to support each other, made themselves kings, and administered the affairs of Egypt for fifteen years, that is to say, from 667 to B.C. 652. Herodotus confirms the account of Diodorus as regards the number of Egyptian princes being twelve: and it is not difficult to select twelve names from the foregoing list as Egyptian. Diodorus adds, that after they had governed for fifteen years (πεντεκαιδεκα ἔτη), thus twice repeated in words, the kingdom came into the hands of one of the princes, viz., Psammetichus the Saite, the son of Necho, whose year of accession therefore must have been B.C. 652. Diodorus and Herodotus concur in stating that Ionians and Carians were instrumental in placing Psammetichus on the throne of Egypt, and the annals of Assurbanipal mention how Gyges king of Lydia had shown himself favourable to the revolt of Egypt from Assyria in the year of his death B.C. 655. Psammetichus, we are told, was twice banished from Egypt after his father Necho's death, say, till the year 653, when he conquered the other eleven kings. But his first regnal year would be counted from the first day of Thoth, or 2nd February, B.C. 652. Manetho places the death of Necho I. in B.C. 655, and thus agrees with Diodorus (when allowance is made for two periods of banishment) as to the year of the accession of Psammetichus, B.C. 652. Those are in error who would place the first year of Psammetichus in B.C. 662: for then would the

fifteen years of dodecarchy, preceded by two years of anarchy, lead to the year B.C. 679, for the expulsion of Tirhakah by Esarhaddon, which is ten years too early according to his annals.

Now, according to the evidence of the Apis tablets at Memphis, Psammetichus reigned upwards of fifty-four years, and Necho II, his son, upwards of fifteen years, together seventy years. Deducting, therefore, seventy years from B.C. 652 we come to the year B.C. 582 for the last regnal year of Necho: and this is the year in which, as we have already seen, Nebuchadnezzar smote the army of Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish, who had come up to prevent the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians, and followed him down into Egypt and deposed him. In the following year, B.C. 581, Nebuchadnezzar succeeded his father at Babylon.

Thus, then, I have fulfilled my undertaking, and have shown from Jewish, Median, Assyrian and Babylonian, and Egyptian reckoning, how the Fall of Nineveh took place in the year B.C. 583, and how the dynasty of Babylonian kings, which began with Nebuchadnezzar, was set up in B.C. 581, and lasted till the seventeenth year of Nabonadius, B.C. 513, when Cyrus son of Cambyses took that throne.

Lastly, this reckoning is placed beyond dispute, when we consider that the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, in which he conquered Jerusalem, thus fell in the year B.C. 563, which is the year of that event derived from Demetrius: that "seventy years of desolation of the city of Jerusalem"[1] counted from that date brings us to B.C. 493, that is to say, to the first year of Darius son, or successor, of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, who was then about sixty-two years of age, which we know from Ctesias was the age of Darius son of Hystaspes at that date: and that "seventy weeks" of years, or 490 years, counted from thence, lead us to the year B.C. 3, in the autumn of which year Christ was born.

I am well aware of certain difficulties in the way of this system of reckoning, arising, as is supposed, from the history of Sargon found at Khorsabad. For Sargon certainly cap-

[1] Daniel ix, 2; v, 31.

tured Samaria: and this capture is generally placed in B.C. 721, the commonly received date of the capture, not by Sargon, but by Shalmanezer, when Hoshea ceased to reign. But I feel little doubt that it will ultimately turn out that Sargon's capture was really that which occurred when Pekah was slain, and Hoshea was first set up as governor in his stead by the Assyrians: also that Sargon was acting at that time as a prince of the empire, subordinate to Tiglath-pileser the supreme king,[1] and that Shalmanezer took Samaria in the reign of "king Jareb," or Sennac-jarib in Assyria,[2] that is in B.C. 696.

[1] Isaiah x, 8. [2] Hosea v, 13; x, 5, 6, 7, 14.

THE LEGEND OF ISHTAR DESCENDING TO HADES.

Translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 3rd June, 1873.

Some years ago the British Museum had a large number of photographs made from the Assyrian tablets, copies of which were liberally distributed. One of these, marked K 162, and also 130 *a* and *b*, appeared to me of so curious a nature, that I made a translation of it, which was published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. 8, p. 244. In the introduction to my paper I said, "Another cause of the obscurity of this tablet is that the commencement of it is fractured and lost, so that the reader finds himself launched at once *in medias res*, without knowing what may have preceded." In fact, nearly one half of the tablet was broken off. The missing half has since been fortunately discovered by Mr. G. Smith, and the tablet is now nearly, though not quite, entire. The addition of so large a portion has naturally altered my opinion as to the meaning of the tablet, although my translation is fully confirmed in one respect, viz., that the goddess Ishtar is deprived of the splendid ornaments of her dress in seven successive portions, and that these are ultimately restored to her in exactly the reverse order.

This curious Legend appears to be only a portion of a more ancient and copious one. I think so from the abrupt transitions and the various events that are left unexplained. It is a grave defect in the story, that absolutely no reason is assigned why Ishtar should have made the dangerous descent to Hades, and encountered so much grief and humiliation.

But perhaps there once existed another tablet, preceding this one, in which the causes were related which led to this adventure.

The following translation is as literal as I can make it.

COLUMN I.

1. To the land of Hades, the (.....) of the Earth
2. Ishtar daughter of the Moon-god Sin [*turned*] her mind,
3. And the daughter of Sin fixed her mind [*to go there*]:
4. To the House of Eternity: the dwelling of the god of the Earth
5. To the House men enter—but cannot depart from:
6. To the Road men go—but cannot return.
7. The abode of darkness and famine
8. Where Earth alone, is their miserable food:
9. Light is not seen: in darkness they [*wander*]:
10. Bats, like birds, have fixed their dwelling there:
11. And a growth of thick branches conceals the door.

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12. When Ishtar arrived at the gate of Hades
13. To the keeper of the gate a word she spoke:
14. O keeper of the place, open thy gate!
15. Open thy gate! again, that I may enter!
16. The penalty: if thou openest not thy gate, and I enter not,
17. I will assault the door: I will break down the gate:
18. I will attack the entrance: I will split open the portals:
19. I will corrupt with death, the food of life:
20. Instead of life, it shall change to death!
21. Then the Porter opened his mouth and spoke
22. And said to the great Ishtar:
23. Be of good cheer, Lady! do not distress thyself!
24. I will go to open it for the Queen of the gods.
25. The Porter entered, and spoke again:
26. This is the place! Take care to thyself, Ishtar! [*here some words are lost*]
27. A cavern of great rocks [*several words lost*]
28. The Lord of the Earth has these [*words lost*]
29. See! as it were a green bough cut off [*words lost*]

30. As it were, a rod of salvation, from a tree .....
31. These I bring as a protection to life: [*they will be*] a great protection![1]
32. This is the place! I will go with thee!
33. See! as it were, food: and, as it were, cups of water ....

(*Lines* 34, 35, 36 *are omitted, being much broken. They appear to mean—*

> "*The shades of those who did evil on earth,*
> *men, women, and children; this is their food.*")

The transition now to line 37 *is so rapid, that I think part of the original legend must have been omitted.*

37. Go, gate-keeper! open the gate for her!
38. But divest her of her high Crown of ancient jewels!
39. The gate-keeper went, and opened the gate for her:
40. Excuse it, Lady! if thy high Crown I take off
41. That the King of Hades may meet thee with pleasure![2]

---

42. The first gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the great Crown from her head.
43. Keeper! do not take off from me, the great Crown from my head!
44. Excuse it, Lady! for, the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels.[3]

---

45. The second gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the earrings of her ears.
46. Keeper! do not take off from me, the earrings of my ears;
47. Excuse it, Lady! for, the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels!

---

[1] So when Æneas descended to Hades, the Sibyl warned him that he would have need of the magical protection of a golden bough which he was to gather (if the Fates permitted) from a dark green tree (*opacâ ilice*). Virg. Æn. vi, 144 and 210. The wrath of Charon, when Æneas wished to step into his boat, was calmed by the production of this bough, which he had kept concealed beneath his vest. (vi, 406.)

[2] She wore a lofty Crown; therefore (*perhaps*) in the dominions of another Monarch and in his presence this was unsuitable.

[3] All the jewels, and the gold, came originally out of the Earth: is that the meaning?

48. The third gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the precious stones from her head.
49. Keeper! do not take off from me, the precious stones from my head!
50. Excuse it, Lady! for, the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels!

---

51. The fourth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the small lovely gems from her forehead.
52. Keeper! do not take off from me, the small lovely gems from my forehead!
53. Excuse it, Lady! for, the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels.

---

54. The fifth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the jewelled girdle of her waist.
55. Keeper! do not take off from me, the jewelled girdle from my waist!
56. Excuse it, Lady! for, the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels.

---

57. The sixth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the golden rings of her hands and feet.
58. Keeper! do not take off from me, the golden rings of my hands and feet!
59. Excuse it, Lady! for the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels.

---

60. The seventh gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the necklace from her neck.
61. Keeper! do not take off from me, the necklace of my neck!
62. Excuse it, Lady! for, the Lord of the Earth demands its jewels!

---

63. After that mother Ishtar had descended into Hades
64. The Lord of Hades saw her; and sought her presence eagerly.
65. But Ishtar did not move: but sat alone by herself.

66. The Lord of Hades opened his mouth and spoke:
67. To Namtar his messenger a word he said:
68. Go, Namtar! and .....

Here unfortunately a great fracture of the tablet occurs. I therefore pass over the rest of Column I, merely observing that five of the lines commence with parts of the body, viz., the Eyes, the Side, the Feet, the Heart, and the Head, and seemingly relate to the jewels worn on those parts, of which Ishtar had been deprived.

Note on the name of Hades.—Hades is called in the Cuneiform writing [illegible] *i.e.* "the land of *No Return.*" This was first observed by Mr. G. Smith in his Annals of Assurbanipal. Its ruler is sometimes called [illegible] *Nin-kiti* 'Lord of the Earth,' and sometimes [illegible] *Nin-ki-galli*, which means 'Lord of the great space or region,' because the Ancients figured to themselves Hades as a vast cavern which could never be filled, though the spirits of men were constantly descending into it.

Column II.

The second Column puts me in mind of the "Arabian Nights." However imperfectly I may have translated it, I am sure that the Society would wish the attempt to be made, the matter is so curious. If we could find more tablets of this description, we should advance rapidly in our knowledge of the language.

The subject of the second column may be briefly stated thus: the gods of heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Héa, saw with pity the misfortunes of Ishtar, and resolved to release her from her captivity. The god [illegible] whose name is now generally transcribed as Héa, but perhaps better as Hu or Ho, is very distinguished in the Assyrian writings as being the god of all clever inventions, mysteries, and profound thoughts. He is called *Bil Nimiki*, "the Lord of Mysteries," and Sennacherib and other kings attribute to his inspiration the great skill and ingenuity which they affirm they themselves possessed.

The god Héa, then, revolving in his mind how to liberate Ishtar, formed a scheme which, as I said, has some resemblance to the Arabian Nights. By his magic power he raised up the phantom of a black man, a kind of conjuror, and, promising him very great rewards if he should succeed, dispatched him to the realms of Hades, to deceive the mind of its Sovereign with false illusions.[1]

The Phantom departs, and reaches the King's presence: and a feat is then described which I can only compare to a successful juggler's trick: and if this should appear improbable I would observe that jugglers and magicians appear to have wrought wonders in the East from time immemorial: witness Pharaoh's Egyptian magicians who pretended to turn rods of wood into serpents, and succeeded so as to deceive all beholders (Exod. vii, 12).

While the king of Hades was lost in astonishment at beholding this prodigy, the magician seized the opportunity to give to Ishtar a cup of the water of Life, the drink of the gods, and she forthwith returned in triumph to the upper regions of the habitable world, receiving back by the way all the jewels of which she had been deprived.

The following is a nearly literal translation of the second column:—

1. The messenger of the gods prostrated himself before them
2. (*This line is injured: sense doubtful*)
3. The Sun came, along with the Moon his father,
4. And along with Héa the king they came to save her.
5. Ishtar sat on the ground, and would not rise.
6. From the time that mother Ishtar had descended into Hades
7. She spoke not to (. . . . .), she looked not at (. . . . .)

[*Lines* 8, 9, 10, *are of uncertain meaning.*]

11. The god Héa in the depth of his mind laid a plan,
12. He formed, for her escape, the phantom of a black man.

---

[1] So, in Homer, Zeus sends a Dream to deceive the mind of Agamemnon.

Βασκ' ιθι, ουλε Ονειρε.

The reason why the phantom is described as dark or swarthy, is evidently that such a form suited a messenger to Hades.

13. Go to save her, Phantom! present thyself at the portal of Hades,
14. The seven gates of Hades will open before thee,
15. The Lord of Hades will see thee, and be pleased with thee.
16. When her mind shall be grown calm, and her anger shall be worn off,
17. Give her to drink of the liquor of the gods,
18. Prepare thy magic! On skilful tricks fix thy mind!
19. The chiefest of tricks! Bring forth fishes of the waters, out of an empty vessel!
20. While the Lord of Hades is in astonishment at this,
21. Return her ornaments: and restore her splendour!
22. A great reward for these things shall not fail.
23. Phantom! if thou goest to save her, and dost rescue the Great Queen,
24. Meats, the first of the city, shall be thy food!
25. Wine, the most delicious in the city, shall be thy drink!
26. To be the Ruler of a Palace, shall be thy rank!
27. A throne of state? shall be thy seat!
28. Magician and Conjurer shall bow down before thee!

A very abrupt transition here occurs. We find the king of Hades consenting to the departure of Ishtar. I think something has been omitted, and that we have not a complete copy of the original legend, which perhaps was written in a book, and was therefore necessarily much abridged upon a clay tablet. What follows next, concerning the Genius Anunnak, is obscure to me. But he is a personage often mentioned elsewhere. The words of the text seem to describe some showy final scene, as if the legend were to be acted in some temple—a kind of Miracle Play.

29. The Lord of Hades opened his mouth and spoke,
30. And said to Namtar his messenger,
31. Go, Namtar! hasten to the Temple of Justice,
32. Adorn the pedestals? of the statues?
33. Bring out Anunnak! seat him on a golden throne!
34. Pour out for Ishtar the waters of Life, and let her take them!

35. Namtar went, and hastened to the Temple of Justice,
36. He adorned the pedestals? of the statues?
37. He brought out Anunnak; on a golden throne he seated him;
38. He poured out for Ishtar the waters of Life, and she took them.
39. Then the first gate let her forth, and restored to her— the necklace of her neck.
40. The second gate let her forth, and restored to her— the diamonds of her hands and feet.
41. The third gate let her forth, and restored to her— the jewelled girdle of her waist.
42. The fourth gate let her forth, and restored to her— the small lovely gems of her forehead.
43. The fifth gate let her forth, and restored to her— the precious stones of her head.
44. The sixth gate let her forth, and restored to her— the earrings of her ears.
45. The seventh gate let her forth, and restored to her— the great Crown on her head.

---

46. The payment paid for her liberation say not! conceal it until (.....)
47. To Tarzi the little black man .....
48. The finest liquors: horses? excellent .....

Lines 49, 50, 51, 52, are omitted as obscure. They relate to jewels presented in gratitude to the god [illegible] who I believe was the same as Héa. Probably [illegible] only means "the great god."

53. Perforate a row of Pearls, to invest the god [illegible] with a necklace
54. Birds'-eye stones (? *pearls*) from .....
55. In one row thou wilt not be able to string them [i.e. *from their number*].

A further gift of jewels and slaves? comprised in three lines, 56, 57, 58, concludes the inscription.

APPENDIX.

Containing the Cuneiform text, with notes and observations.

LINE

1. Ana mat (.....) kakkari
To the land of Hades, of the earth the (.....)

2. Ishtar binat Sin uzun-sha .....
Ishtar daughter of the god Sin her mind directed?

3. ishkun-ma binat Sin uzun-sha
and fixed the daughter of Sin her mind

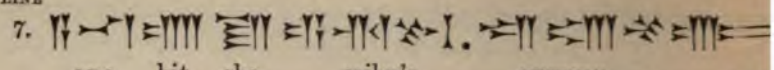
4. ana bit edie subat ili ir(ziti)
To the house of eternity, the dwelling of the god of the Earth

5. ana bit sha eribu-su la atzu-su
to the house of entering but not departing

6. ana kharrani sha alakta-sha
to the road of going

la tayarti-sha
but not returning

LINE

7. 

ana	bit	sha	eribu's	zummu	. . . . .
to the house of			*darkness*	*famine*	. . . . .

NOTES.[1] Line 2. *Uzun*, the Mind: or the thoughts of the mind. This is a common word, but translators have confused it with *Uzun*, the Ear (plu. *uzni*), which is a very different word, though spelt the same.

Line 4. *Edie*, Eternity. Heb. עד.

Line 5. *Erib* to enter, and *Atzu* to depart from, are two words constantly opposed to each other. When used of the Sun they mean his *setting* and his *rising*. They are the Heb. ערב and יצא. But as the setting of the Sun produces darkness, hence the word *Erib* has acquired the *secondary* sense of 'darkness.'

I think it probable that the Greeks borrowed the three names of Erebus, Hades, and Acheron from the nations of the East. We see that Hades was called in Assyrian בית עדי *Bit Edi* or *Hadi*, 'the house of Eternity.' The usual etymology (quasi *A-ἰδης invisible*) is quite permissible, but it may be an after-thought for the sake of explaining the name.

Again we see, especially in line 7, that Hades is called in Assyrian בית עריבוש *Bit Eribus*, which has passed into the Greek name *Ερεβος*.

Again: *Acheron* is evidently the Hebrew אחרון the West, because since the Sun ends his career in the West, the West was accounted by the ancients the abode of departed spirits. And so also the Egyptian *Amenti* signified the West. Another meaning of the Hebrew אחרון was *ultimus*, *postremus*.

To these I would add the name of *Atropos* (one of the Fates) which I conjecture was originally a name for Hades, meaning (as in Assyrian) "without return."

---

[1] I have made no note on those words, which are the great majority, which appear to me to have been already sufficiently well established.

LINE

8. ashar ..... bubut-zun
where *earth* *to their hunger*

akal-sun dit .....
(*is*) *their food* *miserable :*

9. Nuru val immaru as ethuti ....
Light *not* *is seen : in darkness* (*they dwell?*)

10. Kalsum kima izzuri zubat ....
Bats *like* *birds* *their dwelling* (*make*)

11. eli dalti u sakkul? sabukh
over *the gate* *and* *door-posts ?* *branches*

ibru
have grown over them.

NOTES.—Line 8. *Bubut* famine: emptiness: occurs frequently. From בוב vacuus. may be from root דוה, דוי mæstus, miser. *Sch.* דוי as an epithet of 'food' means 'repulsive.' *Gesenius.*

Line 9. *Ethuti* darkness, is Arab. עטה texit, velavit, abscondit, *Sch.*

Line 10. *Kalsum*, probably for *Karsum* 'bats,' dimin. *karsutina* כרשתינא vespertilio. *Sch.*

Line 11. *Sabukh* Syr. שבך 'a branch.' *Ibru* Heb. פרה 'crevit': or rather perhaps it is a conjugation of the root עבר and means to grow *over*, and conceal.

LINE

12. Ishtar ana bab ..... as
Ishtar at the gate of Hades on

kasadi-sha
her arrival

13. ana nigab bábi amatu
to the keeper of the gate a speech

izzakkar
she spoke

14. Nigab sibi pitá bab-ka
O Keeper of the place, open thy gate

15. pitá bab-ka ma, lu-ruba
open thy gate (I say) again, that enter it

anaku
I may !

16. Summa : la tapattá bábu
The penalty : if not thou openest the gate,

la irruba anaku,
and not shall enter I,

LINE

17. amakkhaz daltu . sikkuru

I will assault the door, the gate

asabbir

I will break:

18. amakkhaz sibbu-ma .

I will assault the entrance,

usabalkat . . . . . .

I will split open the portals.

19. usillá mituti . akali

I will corrupt with death the food

bulthuti.

of life.

20. eli bulthuti . imahidu

instead of life they shall be changed

mituti

to death.

NOTES.—Line 17. *Amakkhaz*, future of מחץ percussit. *Asabbir*, fut. of שבר fregit.

Line 18. is the usual Accadian term for a door or gate.

Line 19. *Usillá.* Arab. סל tabes: phthisis, (*Schindler*).

Line 20. *imahidu.* Heb. מעד mutavit.

LINE

21. Nigab pá-su ibus-ma igabbi,
The porter his mouth opened and spoke,

22. izzakkar ana rabti Ishtar,
and said to the great Ishtar,

23. Iziz Bilti la
Be of good cheer, Lady, do n

tanadassi
distress thyself!

24. lullik mukilu sanni ana
I will go to open this for

sarrati ili rabi
the Queen of the gods great.

25. erumma nigab
entered the porter

izzakkar . . . . . .
and spoke . . . . . .

26. annitu sibi akhamu ki Ishtar.
This is the place, take care to thyself Ishtar!

[*several words lost*]

NOTES.—Line 23. *Iziz*, from root *Ziz*, to be strong, firm, fixed, or steadfast. This root is a great favourite with the Assyrians. Heb. עזז fortis fuit: firmus fuit. *Tanadassi* for *tanadá-si*. Root נדד *nud* or *nad* 'agitavit.'

Line 24. *Mukilu:* root גלא to open.

Line 26. *Akhamu*, take care! Chald. חמא 'cavit.' Or, it may perhaps mean "Make haste!" from *khamish* 'haste.' In that case we must transliterate it *Akhamish.*

LINE

27. . . . . .

Nukirtu	sha	kippi	rabi . . . . .
a Cavern	*of*	*rocks*	*great* [*several words lost*]

28. . . . . .

Nin	kiti	annita . . . . .
The Lord	*of the Earth*	*these things* [*several words lost*]

29. . . . . .

kima	nikïsh	isbi	eru(ki) . . . . .
as it were	*a cut-off*	*herb*	*green* [*several words lost*]

30. . . . . .

kima	sapat	kunini	isli . . . . .
as it were	*a rod*	*protecting*	*of a tree* [*words lost*]

31. .

miná	libba	uplanni
a protection	*for life*	*I bring them*

miná	kabta
a protection	*very great.*

NOTES.—Line 27. *Nukirtu* a Cavern. נקר but in Chald. נקיר *caverna, spelunca.* Sch. p. 1163.

Kippi, rocks. Heb. כוף petra: rupes: whence Cephas for Peter, in the gospels.

Line 29. *Isbi.* Heb. עשב herba. This word occurs in a tribute paid to Sargina by Ithamar king of the Sabæans. See my Glossary No. 115. Oppert's Khorsabad inscriptions 3, 27, and his Commentary, p. 78. The Chaldee is עשבא.—*Eruki* ירוק viridis.

Line 30. *Shapat.* Heb. שבט virga.

Kunini 'protecting' from גנן protexit.

Isli. Heb. אשל arbor; or rather Arab. אצל arbor.

Line 31. *Miná* occurs several times on the tablets, in the sense of *remedy: protection: antidote.*

LINE

32. . . . .

annitu sibi, anaku itti . . . . . .

this is the place, I with (thee) . . . .

33.

kima . . . . . akalim kima kasim mie

as it were food eatable, as it were cups of water.

Lines 34, 35, 36, are omitted, being much broken; they appear to mean, "The shades of those who did evil on earth, men, women, and children, this is their food."

The transition now to line 37 is so rapid that I think part of the original legend must have been omitted.

37.

Alik Nigab pitassi

go gate-keeper open for her

bab-ka

thy gate!

38.

uppis-si-ma kima pannini

but divest her of her high Crown of jewels

labiruti

ancient.

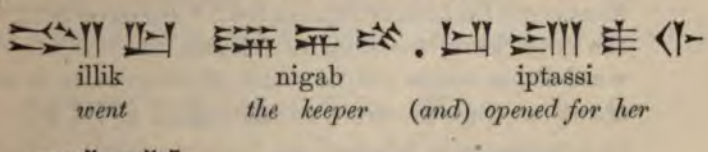
NOTES.—Line 37. *Pitá* open: *pitá-si* 'open for her.' But the pronouns being not accented, a strong accent is thrown on the preceding syllable: Hence *pitassi.*

Line 38. *Uppis* is, I think, the Heb. חפש 'denudavit vestem.'

Pannini, jewels. פנינים *gemmæ.* Sch. p. 1451.

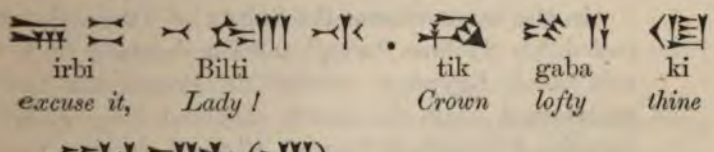
Kima is the Syriac קימא *erectio*, from קומ erectus, elatus, vel elevatus fuit. I have not met with the word elsewhere, with certainty. It is spelt the same as the common adverb *kima* 'quasi.' "Remove her *kima* of ancient jewels!" her lofty head-dress.

LINE

39. 

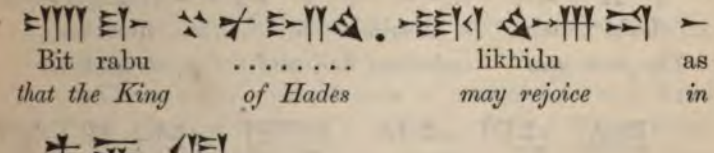
illik nigab iptassi
went the keeper (and) opened for her

bab-su
his gate.

40. 

irbi Bilti tik gaba ki
excuse it, Lady! Crown lofty thine

lisak(kal)
if I remove!

41. 

Bit rabu ..... likhidu as
that the King of Hades may rejoice in

pani ki
meeting thee!

NOTES.—Line 40. *Irbi.* See note to line 44.

Tik, the head: crown of the head: Crown. This is a very common word. *Gaba* 'lofty,' is the Heb. גב altitudo, eminentia. Hence *Tig-gaba*, lofty crown, or

headdress. At first I mistook the meaning of this line, and rendered it "Lady of *Tiggaba* city," supposing that she might have been reverenced in that very celebrated city. But the contrary is the case. The city Tiggaba was so named from its 'lofty head,' *i.e.*, its lofty central tower, or Acropolis.

Lisakkal, from שכל 'privare' to deprive: as, a tree of its fruit, &c. *Sch.* p. 1854.

Bit Rabu, 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁀 does not mean in this passage the King's Palace, but evidently the King himself. This remark is important. Many of the great inscriptions begin (as hitherto translated), "*Palace* of Sargina, the great king, the king of Assyria, &c.," where the word *Palace* seems out of place, since no more is said about it. But the true translation of 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁀 in such passages is '*Sultan*' or '*supreme ruler.*' This is confirmed by the fact that instead of 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁀 we sometimes find 𒅆 *Sad*, a well-known term for King or Lord (Heb. שד) but which does not mean a *Palace*.

In the same manner the Sultan of Turkey is now called "la Sublime Porte," and I understand that the celebrated Egyptian scholar de Rougé has lately ascertained that the much disputed title *Pharaoh* signifies "the great House," *Phe-raah*, having found it so written in the hieroglyphic character.

LINE

42. 𒁹𒁀𒁺 𒌋𒁺𒁹 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒁺𒁺𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁀𒁹 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺.

Istin bab userib-si-ma umtat-si:

The first gate admitted her, and stopped her:

𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁀𒁺 𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁀 𒁹𒁹 𒌋𒁹𒁹

ittabul Mir raba sha

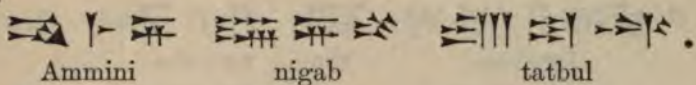
was taken off the Crown great of

𒌍𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁺 𒌋𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹

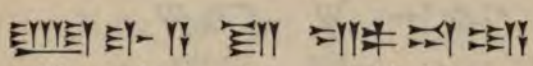
kakkadu-sha.

her head.

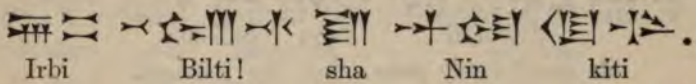
LINE

43. 

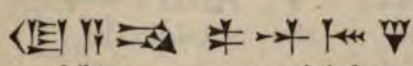
Ammini	nigab	tatbul
Not from me	*O Keeper*	*take off*



Mir	raba	sha	kakkadu-ya
the Crown	*great*	*of*	*my head!*

44. 

Irbi	Bilti!	sha	Nin	kiti
Excuse it	*Lady!*	*for*	*the Lord*	*of the Earth*



kiham	pannini-sha
demands	*its jewels!*

NOTES.—Line 42. *Erib* 'to enter,' whence *Serib* 'to cause to enter': 'to admit,'—a very common word.

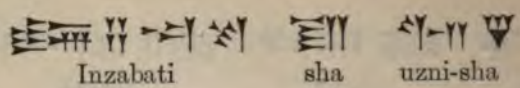
Umtat. Arab. מתת to stop or delay a person, 'moratus est.' *Sch.*

Line 43. *Ammini tatbul*, "surely thou art not taking away from me." This, I think, best expresses the meaning. *Am* (Hebrew אמ) implies negation, though it has the form of a question. The Lexicons give many examples. *Amm-ini*, 'not from me.'

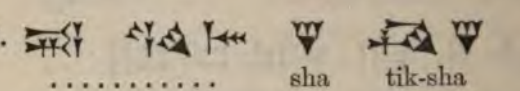
Line 44. *Irbi*, imperative of the verb רפא excusare culpam, condonare peccatum.

Kiham means the decree of a King, or any word from his lips, solemnly spoken. It is I think never used, except when a King speaks. In the Behistun inscription it occurs many times: "Darius sar kiham igabbi."

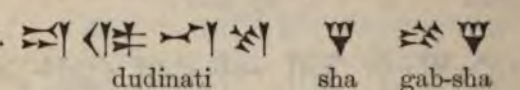
The passage of Ishtar through the other six gates is expressed in the same words. It will therefore only be necessary to give the names of the various jewels which she loses.

II. 

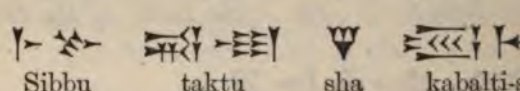
Inzabati	sha	uzni-sha
The earrings	*of*	*her ears.*

III. 

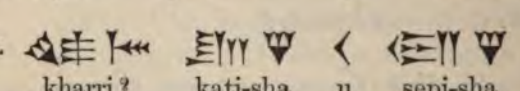
. . . . .	sha	tik-sha
the precious stones	*of*	*her head.*

IV. 

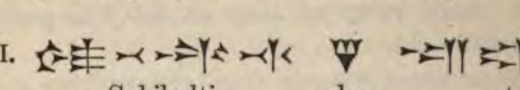
dudinati	sha	gab-sha
the small lovely gems	*of*	*her forehead.*

V. 

Sibbu	taktu	sha	kabalti-sha
The girdle	*jewelled*	*of*	*her waist.*

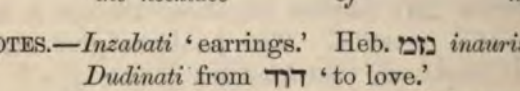
VI. 

kharri?	kati-sha	u	sepi-sha
the gold rings of her hands		*and*	*her feet.*

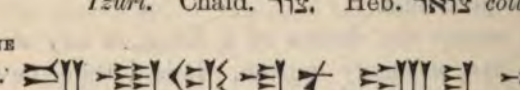
VII. 

Subibulti	sha	tzuri-sha
the necklace	*of*	*her neck.*

NOTES.—*Inzabati* 'earrings.' Heb. נזם *inauris.*
Dudinati from דוד 'to love.'
Subibulti from סבב 'to encircle': seems a diminuti
Tzuri. Chald. צור. Heb. צואר *collum,* 'neck.'

LINE
63. 

istullanu	umma	Ishtar
after that	*mother*	*Ishtar*



ana	(. . . . .)	uridu
to	*Hades*	*had descended.*

LINE

64. Nin ki galli imur-si-ma .
The Lord of Hades saw her, and

as pani-sha irahub
towards her came eagerly.

65. Ishtar val immata's elinussa
Ishtar not moved herself, by herself

usbi
she sat

66. Nin ki galli pā-sha ibus-ma .
The Lord of Hades his mouth opened

igabbi
and said:

67. ana Namtar .... sha amata
to Namtar his messenger, a word

izzakkar
he spoke

68. Alik Namtar
go Namtar [*the rest of Col.* I *is greatly damaged*].

NOTES.—Line 64. *Irahub.* Heb. רעב avidus fuit: quæsivit.
Line 65. *Immata-sa*, 'she moved herself': from Heb. מוד 'movit.'

COLUMN II.

LINE

1. (.....) ... ili rabi .....
The divine (....) messenger of the gods great .....

[*line 2 is defective*]

3. illik Shamas in pan Sin
came the Sun along with Sin

abu-su
his father:

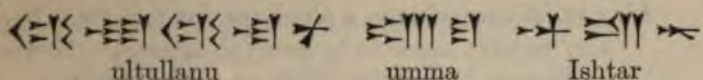
4. in pan Hea sar
along with Hea the king

illaka salma(t)
they came to save (her).

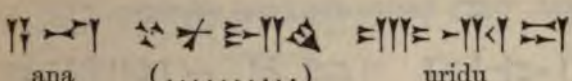
5. Ishtar ana kiti usit val
Ishtar on the ground sat, and not

ilā.
arose.

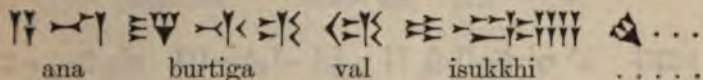
LINE

6. 

ultullanu	umma	Ishtar
from the time that	*mother*	*Ishtar*

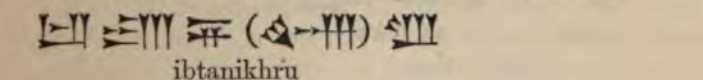


ana	(.....)	uridu
to	*Hades*	*descended.*

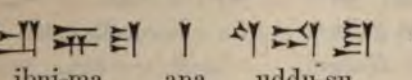
7. 

ana	burtiga	val	isukkhi	.....
to	(.....)	*not*	*she spoke.*	.....

(*lines* 7, 8, 9, 10, *are very obscure*)

11. 

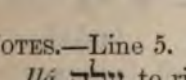
Hea	as	imki	libbi-su
Hea	*in*	*the depth*	*of his mind*



ibtanikhru
determined (*what to do*)

12.

ibni-ma	ana	uddu-su	namir	amilu
and he formed	*for*	*her escape*	*a phantom of a man*	



assinnu
black.

NOTES.—Line 5. *Usit.* שת *posuit.* שת *sedes. Sch.* p. 1834. *Ilá* עלה to rise.

Line 11. *Imki* Heb. עמק deep: profound: whence *nimiki* deep: mysterious. *Hea Bil nimiki.*

Ibtanikhru, *tau* conjugation of בחר consideravit, elegit.

Line 12. *Namir* ειδωλον, a phantom, from root *mir* ιδειν 'to see,' passive *namir* to be seen; to appear; to be visible. *Assinnu* Heb. אשן black or dark. אשן nigredo obscuritas. *Sch.* He is called in line 47 *Khamir* Heb. חמרי fuscus, nigricans, subniger.

LINE

13. alka ana uddu-su Namir! ina
go to her rescue Phantom! at

babi (.....) sukun pani-ka
the portal of Hades present thy face.

14. Sibitti babi (.....) lippi(ta)
The seven gates of Hades will open

in pani-ka.
before thee.

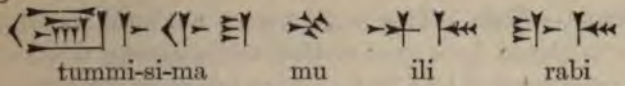
15. Nin ki galli limur-ka-ma
The Lord of Hades will see thee, and

in pani-ka likhidu.
at thy appearance will be pleased.

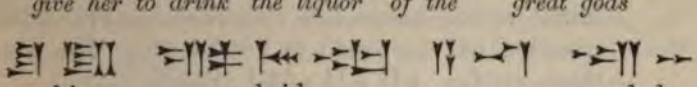
16. valtu libba-sha inukkhu
When her mind shall be grown calm,

kabat-sa ippisiddu
(and) her anger shall be worn off

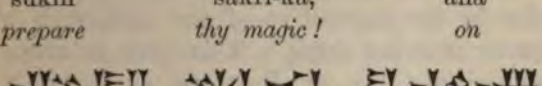
LINES

17. 

tummi-si-ma mu ili rabi
give her to drink the liquor of the great gods

18. 

sukin sakri-ka, ana zukal
prepare thy magic! on skilful



zikin uzna sukun
tricks thy mind fix!

NOTES.—Line 16. *Ippisiddu*, root פשט exuit, detraxit.

Line 17. *Tummi*, טעם gustare. *Mu* 'liquor' is a word frequently found on the tablets. The plural is *Mie* Heb. מי, or מימ. The Hebrew wants the singular, the Chaldee has it, in the form מוי.

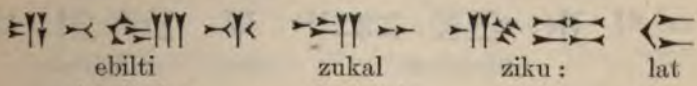
Line 18. *Sukin* is the imperative of the verb קנה *paravit*, or rather of its S conjugation שקנה. The Assyrian admits an S conjugation of almost every verb, and prefers to use it in the imperative, when it makes little difference in the sense, as here: '*make* ready' being the same as 'prepare.'

Sakri, Arab. סחר or סאחר Magia, illusio, præstigiæ. *Sch.* The word occurs again l. 28.

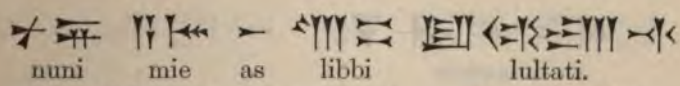
Zukal 'deceitful.' Chald. and Syr. דגל mendax: fallax. The ד in Chaldee often replaces the Hebrew ז, as דא for זה hæc: hoc. (*Gesen.*) *Zukal zikin*, deceitful tricks.

Zikin, plural of *Ziku*. Heb. צחק lusus, illusio.

Uzna, 'the mind': same as *uzun*; see Col. I. line 2.

19. 

ebilti zukal ziku: lat
the chiefest deceitful trick: produce



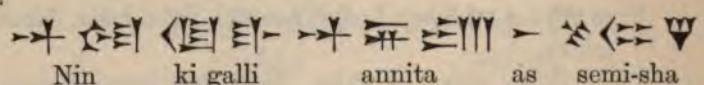
nuni mie as libbi lultati.
fishes of the waters from out of an empty place.

NOTES.—*Ebilti.* This word occurs not unfrequently. It is placed by a grammatical tablet among the forms of the word *Bil*, a Chief: see my Glossary, No. 320. The initial vowel makes this remarkable. The tablet in question will be found in 2 R 36, 61. The word is there written Ebiltu.

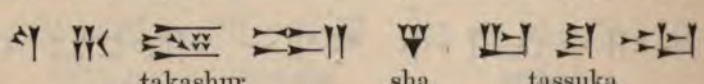
Lat is the imperative of the Heb. verb ילד to produce: or bring forth. This verb is often used metaphorically, *ex. gr.* Proverbs xxvii, 1. "Thou knowest not what a day may bring forth" (ילד). Hence *Lattuti* 'children.'

Lultati. Lul is *Halul* חלול inanis: vacuus. *Sch.* p. 573. I have translated it in a general way 'empty *place.*' But I suspect that the true meaning is given by Schindler in the same page: the Rabbinic word חלל *ventriculus.* It is a very common trick of jugglers to produce immense quantities of things from the mouth, which they pretend to have swallowed. If living fishes appeared among these, it would not exceed what the Indian jugglers are capable of doing at the present day. If this legend of Ishtar was, as I have conjectured, a Miracle Play, it is evident that an interlude of juggling tricks may have greatly amused the audience. One only is recounted here for want of space. Concerning חלל in the sense of *venter*, see Buxtorf's great work, pp. 765, 766.

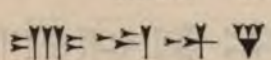
LINE

20. 

Nin ki galli annita as semi-sha
The Lord of Hades this thing while he is stupified at it

21. 

takashur sha, tassuka
Restore her ornaments, (and) return



uban-sha
her Crown!

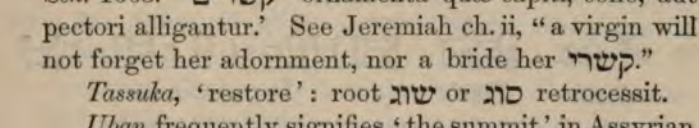
NOTES.—Line 20. *Semi.* Heb. שמם attonitus fuit: miratus est: obstupuit.

Line 21. *Takashur-sha*, 'return her ornaments,' root קשר *Sch.* 1668. קשרים 'ornamenta quæ capiti, collo, aut pectori alligantur.' See Jeremiah ch. ii, "a virgin will not forget her adornment, nor a bride her קשרי."

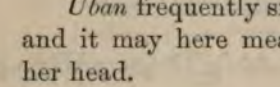
Tassuka, 'restore': root שוג or סוג retrocessit.

Uban frequently signifies 'the summit' in Assyrian and it may here mean the high crown she wore on her head.

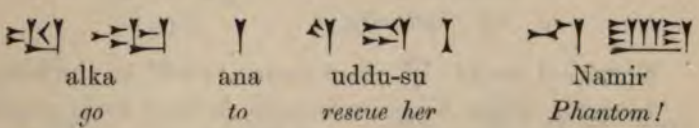
LINE

22. 

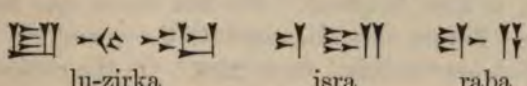
titar	sha	annie	rishtu
A reward	*for*	*this*	*very great*



la	itallim
not	*shall fail.*

23. 

alka	ana	uddu-su	Namir
go	*to*	*rescue her*	*Phantom!*



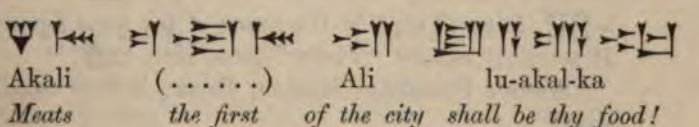
lu-zirka	isra	raba
(and) if thou dost liberate	*the Queen*	*great,*

NOTES.—Line 22. *Titar.* Payment. Reward. from נתר *solvit.*

Itallim 'shall fail': root טלמ 'defraudavit.'

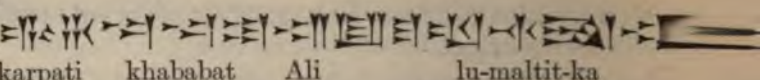
Line 23. *Zirka.* Arab. סרח 'liberavit à catenis.'

Isra Queen: fem. of *Isru* a King. Heb. עצר *imperium.*

24. 

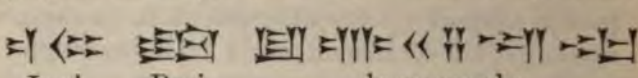
Akali	(.....)	Ali	lu-akal-ka
Meats	*the first*	*of the city*	*shall be thy food!*

LINE

25. 

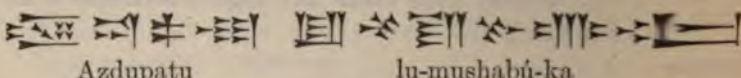
karpati khababat Ali lu-maltit-ka

wine-flaggons the delight of the city shall be thy drink!

26. 

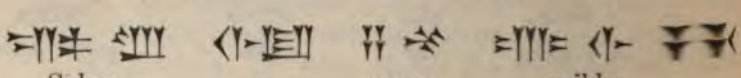
Izmi Duri lu-manzaz-ka

(to be) the Ruler of a Palace shall be thy rank!

27. 

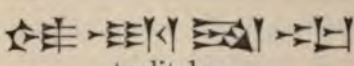
Azdupatu lu-mushabú-ka

a chair of state? shall be thy seat!

28. 

Sakru u zamu usikha

Magician and Conjuror shall bow down



tzulit-ka

to thy authority.

NOTES.—Line 24. often means 'food' on the tablets.

Line 25. *Karpat* a flaggon, holding some precious liquor, is also frequent. *Ex. Mie sunuti ana karpati tar-ma*, 'Return these liquors into the vessel.'

Khababat 'deliciæ' from חבב. Or, the choicest of the City, from *khàbib* 'electus.' I have changed into believing it to be a mistake, the signs being so very similar.

Maltit, for *Mastit* 'drink.' The Assyrian very frequently changes S into L. *Mastit* is the Heb. משתת 'drink,' used in Daniel, Esther, and Ezra: root שתה to drink.

Line 26. *Izmi* is often used for a Ruler, and even a King. See my Glossary No. 210, where varies to *Rabu* (King) in the name of the *same* Eponym. It properly means "*Power*" from Heb. עצמ.

Manzaz Standing, Station, Rank; a very common word.

Line 27. *Mushabu* 'seat': from Heb. ישב 'to sit.' In these four lines, 24 to 27, the particle *lu* has the force of 'shall be' or 'will be,' or of the Latin *sit!* or *utinam sit!*

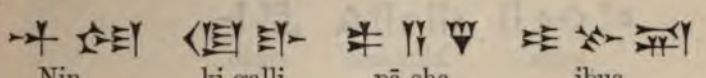
Line 28. *Sakru*, Magician: סחר Magus, Præstigiator. See line 18.

Zamu, Conjuror? from root זמם to devise plots: to contrive cunningly.

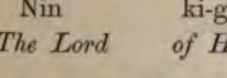
Usikha, root שחה to fall prostrate. Frequent in Hebrew and Assyrian.

Tzulit, authority: protection. Properly 'shadow,' from צל which the Hebrew scriptures also use in the sense of *protection*. Tutela: præsidium. (*Gesen.*)

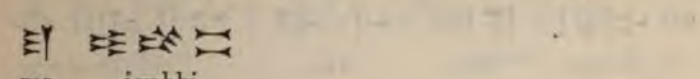
E



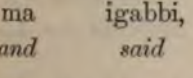
Nin	ki-galli	pā-sha	ibus
The Lord	*of Hades*	*his mouth*	*opened*



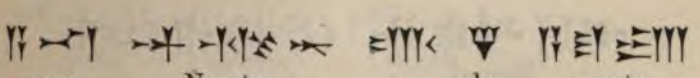
ma	igabbi,
and	*said*



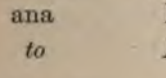
ana	Namtar	. . . sha	amata
to	*Namtar*	*his messenger*	*a word*



izzakkar
he spoke,



alik	Namtar!	makhash	hekal
go	*Namtar!*	*hasten to*	*the palace*



gina
of justice.

LINE

32. Ilu uzahin
The ..... *adorn*

sha (.....)
of the .....

33. Anunnaki suzá in
Anunnaki *bring out !* *on*

guza khurassi susib
a throne *of gold* *seat him !*

34. Ishtar mie tila zulukh-si-ma
Ishtar, the waters of life pour out for her !

likas-si (....) .....
let her take them .....

NOTES.—Line 31. *Makhash.* *Makhash* seems the Rabbinic מחיש festinans, making haste: from Heb. חוש or חיש festinavit: properavit.

Gina, justice. The tablets explain *gina* by *ki-ni* (justice).

Line 32. The stones *ilu* are very often mentioned, but the meaning has not yet been ascertained.

Line 34. *Zulukh.* Syr. זלח 'to pour': see my Glossary, No. 484.

Likassi for *liká-si* 'let her receive it.' Heb. לקח 'to receive,' *ex. gr. liki unnini-ya*, 'receive my prayer.' See my Glossary, No. 379.

LINE

35. illik Namtar imkhash
went *Namtar* (*and*) *hastened to*

hekal gina
the palace *of justice,*

36. Ilu uzahin
the (. . . .) *he adorned*

sha . . . . .
of . . . . .

37. Anunnaki usezá as
Anunnak *he brought out,* *on*

guza khurassi usesib
a throne *of gold* *he seated him :*

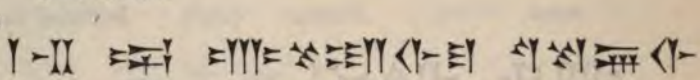
38. Ishtar mie tila izlukh-si-ma
Ishtar *the waters* *of life* *he poured out for her*

ilkassi
(*and*) *she took them.*

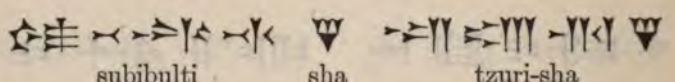
The preceding lines offer an instructive comparison between the imperative and the preterite of several verbs. *Alik—illik* 'to go.' *makhash—imkhash* 'to hasten.' *suzá—usezá* 'to bring out.' *susib—usesib* 'to seat.'

zulukh—izlukh 'to pour out.' *liká—ilkā* 'to receive.' While the verb *uzahin* undergoes no change in those two tenses.

LINE

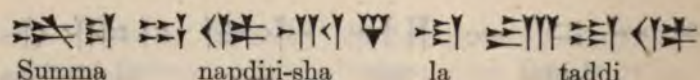
39. 

istin	bab	usetsi-si-ma	uttir-si
the first	*gate*	*let her forth, and*	*restored to her*

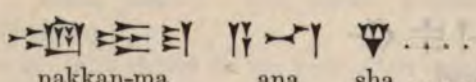


subibulti	sha	tzuri-sha
the necklace	*of*	*her neck,*

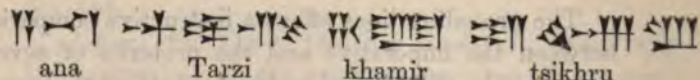
NOTE.—Her passage through the six other gates is described in the same words. She receives back her jewels *in the reverse order* in which she lost them. Two of them, however, are named differently from before. We find *Semir* 'diamonds' instead of golden rings (of her hands and feet). And *Agú* 'Crown' is written instead of *Mir*. The latter is no doubt the celebrated *Μιτρα* of the Persians, (the *Περσαι αιολομιτραι*). *Mitra* became *Mir*, as *pater* 'père,' *mater* 'mère, *frater*, 'frère': and the god *Mithra*, in Persian *Mihr* 'the Sun.'

46. 

Summa	napdiri-sha	la	taddi
The price	*of her liberation*	*not*	*say !*

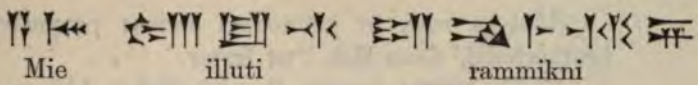


nakkan-ma	ana	sha . . . .
but conceal it	*until*	. . . .

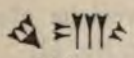
47. 

ana	Tarzi	khamir	tsikhru
to	*Tarzi*	*the black man*	*small*

LINE

48. 

Mie illuti rammikni
Liquors excellent, horses



khiga
good

NOTES.—Line 46. *Summa* is the *penalty* paid for a crime: or the *price* paid for a benefit. From *sim* 'price.'

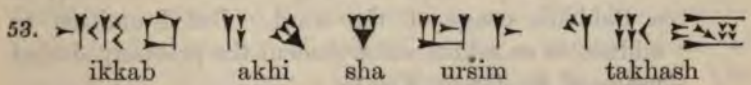
Napdiri liberation: from *padar* to liberate. Chald. פטר.

Taddi, say! from ידא 'emisit vocem': 'fassus est.' *Sch.* p. 737.

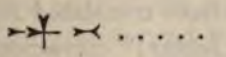
Line 47. *Khamir.* Heb. חמרי fuscus, nigricans, subniger, in line 12 of Col. II called *assinni.*

Line 48. *rammikni* Heb. רמך equus.

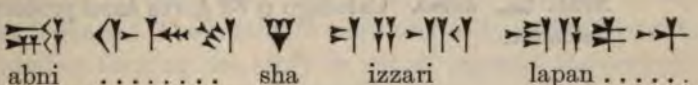
Lines 49–52 are omitted, being of uncertain meaning.

53. 

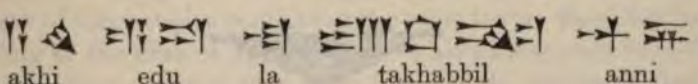
ikkab akhi sha uršim takhash
perforate a row of pearls? for the dress



of the great god . . . . .

54. 

abni . . . . . sha izzari lapan . . . . . .
stones (called) "eyes of birds" from . . . . . .

55. 

akhi edu la takhabbil anni
In a row single not thou wilt connect them.

NOTES.—Line 53. *Ikkab*, imperative of Heb. נקב to perforate.

Akhi, a row, or connected series: properly 'a brotherhood,' from Heb. אח frater.

Ursim, ארזים *monilia* (beads) *Sch.* p. 118 or 652 חרזים margaritæ perforatæ et filo copulatæ, &c.

Line 54. 'Birds' eyes.' This kind of precious stone is mentioned in 2 R 40, see my Glossary, No. 11.

Line 55. *takhabbil;* from Heb. חבל alligavit, colligavit.

The three remaining lines are of uncertain meaning. I notice the word 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 *zibu* 'a gift.' See my Glossary, No. 477.

¶ In line 4 of the inscription *Hades* is called בית עד. In the book of Job xxx, 23, it is called בית מועד, to which are added the words '*for all living.*' Commentators say this means 'the house of *assembly* for all living,' from a root עדה to assemble.

¶ In the note to line 19 of Col. 2 I explained *lultati* 'cavitas' as probably meaning 'venter,' according to a Rabbinic usage of the word. But I omitted to adduce as an additional argument the precisely similar usage of the Greek *Κοιλια*.

¶ In Column I, line 26, I ought to have translated *Aḥamu ki Ishtar*, "I will protect thee, Ishtar!" corresponding to line 32 *Ạnaku itti ka*, "I will go with thee!" *Aḥamu* from חמה to protect. See Fürst, p. 456. Arab. حما *hama*. Catafago p. 89 gives *hami* protector, defender.

THE CHALDEAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

By George Smith.

Read 3rd December, 1872.

A short time back I discovered among the Assyrian tablets in the British Museum, an account of the flood; which, under the advice of our President, I now bring before the Society.

For convenience of working, I had divided the collection of Assyrian tablets in the British Museum into sections, according to the subject-matter of the inscriptions.

I have recently been examining the division comprising the Mythological and Mythical tablets, and from this section I obtained a number of tablets, giving a curious series of legends and including a copy of the story of the Flood. On discovering these documents, which were much mutilated, I searched over all the collections of fragments of inscriptions, consisting of several thousands of smaller pieces, and ultimately recovered 80 fragments of these legends; by the aid of which I was enabled to restore nearly all the text of the description of the Flood, and considerable portions of the other legends. These tablets were originally at least twelve in number, forming one story or set of legends, the account of the Flood being on the eleventh tablet.

Of the inscription describing the Flood, there are fragments of three copies containing the same texts; these copies belong to the time of Assurbanipal, or about 660 years before the Christian era, and they were found in the library of that monarch in the palace at Nineveh.

The original text, according to the statements on the tablets, must have belonged to the city of Erech, and it appears to have been either written in, or translated into the

Semitic Babylonian, at a very early period. The date when this document was first written or translated, is at present very difficult to decide, but the following are some of the evidences of its antiquity:—

1st. The three Assyrian copies present a number of variant readings, which had crept into the text since the original documents were written.

2nd. The forms of the characters in the original documents were of an ancient type, and the Assyrian copyist did not always know their modern representatives, so he has left some of them in their original hieratic form.

3rd. There are a number of sentences which were originally glosses explanatory of the subjects; before the Assyrian copies were made these glosses had been already incorporated in the text and their original use lost.

It must here be noted that the Assyrian scribe has recorded for us the divisions of the lines on the original documents.

On examining the composition of the text, some marked peculiarities are apparent, which likewise show its high antiquity. One of these is the constant use of the personal pronoun nominative. In later times this was usually indicated by the verbal form, but not expressed. On comparing the Deluge text with dated texts from the time of Sargon I, it appears to be older than these, and its original composition cannot be placed later than the seventeenth century before the Christian era; while it may be much older. The text itself professes to belong to the time of a monarch whose name, written in monograms, I am unable to read phonetically, I therefore provisionally call him by the ordinary values of the signs of his name, Izdubar.

Izdubar, from the description of his reign, evidently belonged to the Mythical period; the legends given in these tablets, the offer of marriage made to him by the goddess Ishtar, the monsters living at the time, Izdubar's vision of the gods, his journey to the translated Sisit, with a curious account of a mythical conquest of Erech when the gods and spirits inhabiting that city, changed themselves into animals to escape the fury of the conqueror:

all these things and many others show the unhistorical nature of the epoch. From the heading of the tablets giving his history, I suppose that Izdubar lived in the epoch immediately following the Flood, and I think, likewise, that he may have been the founder of the Babylonian monarchy, perhaps the Nimrod of Scripture. This, however, is pure conjecture; so many fabulous stories were current in Babylonia respecting Izdubar, that his existence may even be doubted. The fragments of the history of Izdubar, so far as I have at present examined them, remind me of the exploits and labours of Hercules, and, on the supposition that our present version of Berosus is correct as to dates, Izdubar may have been placed about 30,000 years before the Christian era. No document can belong to so remote an age. The legends of Izdubar and the account of the Flood must however belong to a very early period, for there are references to the story in the bilingual lists which were composed in Babylonia during the early Chaldean empires.

The question might here be asked, "How is it that we find an early Chaldean document from Erech transported to Nineveh, copied, and placed in the royal library there?" On this point we can show that it was a common custom for the Assyrians to obtain and copy Babylonian works, and a considerable portion of Assyrian literature consists of these copies of older standard writings.

Assurbanipal, the Assyrian monarch in whose reign the Deluge Tablets were copied, had intimate relations with the city of Erech. Erech remained faithful to him when the rest of Babylonia revolted, and to this city Assurbanipal restored the famous image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away by the Elamites one thousand six hundred and thirty-five years before.

In order properly to understand the reason why the narrative of the Flood is introduced into the story, it will be necessary to give a short account of the tablets which precede it before giving the translation of the Deluge inscription itself.

It appears that Izdubar, the hero of these legends flourished as before stated, in the mythical period soon after

the Flood, and the centre of most of his exploits was the city of Erech, now called Warka, which must have been one of the most ancient cities in the world. Four cities only are mentioned in these inscriptions Babel, Erech, Surippak, and Nipur. Two of these, Babel and Erech, are the first two capitals of Nimrod, and the last one, Nipur, according to the Talmud, is the same as Calneh the fourth city of Nimrod. Of the first five tablets of the history of Izdubar I have not recognised any fragments, but in the mass of material which I have collected it is possible that some portions may belong to this part of the story.

The following passage forms the opening of the sixth tablet, and shows the style of the writing.

Before giving the translation I must notice, that in various places the tablets are broken and the texts defective: as I cannot point out each of these defective passages, I will endeavour to indicate them by pausing in my reading.

1. . . . . Belesu, he despised Belesu
2. like a bull his country he ascended after him
3. he destroyed him, and his memorial perished
4. the country was subdued, and after he took the crown
5. Izdubar put on his crown, and after he took the crown
6. for the favour of Izdubar, the princess Ishtar lifted her eyes.
7. And she spake thus, "Izdubar thou shalt be husband
8. thy word me shall bind in bonds,
9. thou shalt be husband and I will be thy wife,
10. thou shalt drive in a chariot of Ukni stone and gold,
11. of which its body is gold and splendid its pole
12. thou shalt ride in days of great glory
13. to Bitani, in which is the country where the pine trees grow.
14. Bitani at thy entrance
15. to the Euphrates shall kiss thy feet.
16. There shall be in subjection under thee, kings, lords, and princes.
17. The tribute of the mountains and plains they shall bring to thee, taxes

18. they shall give thee, thy herds and flocks shall bring forth twins
19. . . . . the mule shall be swift
20. . . . . in the chariot shall be strong and not weak
21. . . . . in the yoke. A rival shall not be permitted."

Ishtar, who was the same as Venus, was queen of beauty, but somewhat inconstant, for she had already a husband, a deity, called the "Son of Life"; she however led her husband a poor life, and of this Izdubar reminds her in his answer to her offer.

One of the next exploits of Izdubar and Heabani his servant was the conquest of the winged bull, a monster supposed to have existed in those days; but I must pass over this and other matters, to approach the subject of the Flood.

In course of time Izdubar, the conqueror of kings and monsters, the ruler of peoples, fell into some illness and came to fear death, man's last great enemy. Now, the Babylonians believed in the existence of a patriarch named Sisit, the Xisuthrus of the Greeks, who was supposed to have been translated and to have attained to immortality without death. Izdubar, according to the notions of the time, resolved to seek Sisit, to ascertain how he became immortal, that he might attain to a similar honour. The passage reads as follows:—

1. Izdubar to Heabani his servant
2. bitterly lamented and lay down on the ground
3. I the account took from Heabani and
4. weakness entered into my soul
5. death I feared and I lay down on the ground
6 to find Sisit son of Ubaratutu
7. the road I was taking and joyfully I went
8. to the shadows of the mountains I took at night
9. the gods I saw and I feared
10. . . . . to Sin I prayed
11. and before the gods my supplication came
12. peace they gave unto me
13. and they sent unto me a dream.

The dream of Izdubar is unfortunately very mutilated, few fragments of it remaining, and his subsequent journey is not in much better condition. It appears that he went through a number of adventures, and three men are represented, in one place, to be telling each other the story of these adventures.

After long wanderings, Izdubar falls into company with a seaman named Urhamsi, a name similar to the Orchamus of the Greeks. Izdubar and Urhamsi fit out a vessel to continue the search for Sisit, and they sail along for a month and fifteen days, and arrive at some region near the mouth of the Euphrates, where Sisit was supposed to dwell. In this journey by water there are fresh adventures and, in their course, Urhamsi tells Izdubar of the waters of death, of which he states, "The waters of death thy hands will not cleanse."

At the time when Izdubar and Urhamsi are approaching him, Sisit is sleeping. The tablet here is too mutilated to inform us how they came to see each other, but it appears probable from the context that Sisit was seen in company with his wife, a long distance off, separated from Izdubar by a stream.

Unable to cross this water which divided the mortal from the immortal, Izdubar appears to have called to Sisit and asked his momentous question on life and death. The question asked by Izdubar and the first part of the answer of Sisit are lost by the mutilation of the tablet. The latter part of the speech of Sisit, which is preserved, relates to the danger of death, its universality, &c. It winds up as follows: "The goddess Mamitu the maker of fate to them their fate has appointed, she has fixed death and life, but of death the day is not known."

These words, which close the first speech of Sisit, bring us to the end of the tenth tablet; the next one, the eleventh, is the most important of the series, as it contains the history of the Flood.

The eleventh tablet opens with a speech of Izdubar, who now asks Sisit how he became immortal, and Sisit, in answering, relates the story of the Flood and his own piety as

the reason why he was translated. The following is the translation of this tablet:—

1. Izdubar after this manner said to Sisit afar off,
2. ". . . . . Sisit
3. The account do thou tell to me,
4. The account do thou tell to me,
5. . . . . to the midst to make war
6. . . . . I come up after thee,
7. say how thou hast done it, and in the circle of the gods life thou hast gained."

---

8. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar,
9. "I will reveal to thee, Izdubar, the concealed story,
10. and the wisdom of the gods I will relate to thee.
11. The city Surippak the city which thou hast established . . . . . placed
12. was ancient, and the gods within it
13. dwelt, a tempest . . . . . their god, the great gods
14. . . . . Anu
15. . . . . Bel
16. . . . . Ninip
17. . . . . lord of Hades
18. their will revealed in the midst of . . . . .
19. . . . . hearing and he spoke to me thus
20. Surippakite son of Ubaratutu
21. make a great ship for thee . . . . . .
22. I will destroy the sinners and life . . . . .
23. cause to go in the seed of life all of it, to preserve them
24. the ship which thou shalt make
25. . . . cubits shall be the measure of its length, and
26. . . . cubits the amount of its breadth and its height.
27. Into the deep launch it."
28. I perceived and said to Hea my lord,
29. "Hea my lord this that thou commandest me
30. I will perform, it shall be done.
31. . . . . army and host
32. Hea opened his mouth and spake, and said to me his servant,
33. . . . . thou shalt say unto them,

34. . . . . he has turned from me and
35. . . . . fixed . . . . . .

Here there are about fifteen lines entirely lost. The absent passage probably described part of the building of the ark.

51. it . . . . . .
52. which in . . . . . .
53. strong . . . . . I brought
54. on the fifth day . . . . . it
55. in its circuit 14 measures . . . . its sides
56. 14 measures it measured . . . . over it
57. I placed its roof on it . . . . . I enclosed it
58. I rode in it, for the sixth time I . . . . . for the seventh time
59. into the restless deep . . . . . for the . . . . time
60. its planks the waters within it admitted,
61. I saw breaks and holes . . . . . my hand placed
62. three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside,
63. three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside
64. three measures the men carrying its baskets took . . . . . they fixed an altar
65. I enclosed the altar . . . . . the altar for an offering
66. two measures the altar . . . . . Pazziru the pilot
67. for . . . . . slaughtered oxen
68. of. . . . . in that day also
69. . . . . altar and grapes
70. . . . . like the waters of a river and
71. . . . . like the day I covered and
72. . . . . when . . . . covering my hand placed,
73. . . . . and Shamas . . . . the material of the ship completed,
74. . . . . strong and
75. reeds I spread above and below.
76. . . . . went in two thirds of it.
77. All I possessed I collected it, all I possessed I collected of silver,
78. all I possessed I collected of gold,
79. all I possessed I collected of the seed of life, the whole
80. I caused to go up into the ship, all my male and female servants,

81. the beasts of the field, the animals of the field, and the sons of the army all of them, I caused to go up.
82. A flood Shamas made, and
83. he spake saying in the night, 'I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily;
84. enter to the midst of the ship, and shut thy door,'
85. A flood he raised, and
86. he spake saying in the night, 'I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily.'
87. In the day that I celebrated his festival
88. the day which he had appointed; fear I had,
89. I entered to the midst of the ship, and shut my door;
90. to guide the ship, to Buzursadirabi the pilot,
91. the palace I gave to his hand.
92. The raging of a storm in the morning
93. arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide
94. Vul in the midst of it thundered, and
95. Nebo and Saru went in front;
96. the throne bearers went over mountains and plains;
97. the destroyer Nergal overturned;
98. Ninip went in front, and cast down;
99. the spirits carried destruction;
100. in their glory they swept the earth;
101. of Vul the flood, reached to heaven;
102. the bright earth to a waste was turned;
103. the surface of the earth, like . . . . it swept;
104. it destroyed all life, from the face of the earth . . . . .
105. the strong tempest over the people, reached to heaven.
106. Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people. In heaven
107. the gods feared the tempest, and
108. Sought refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu.
109. The gods, like dogs with tails hidden, couched down.
110. Spake Ishtar a discourse,
111. uttered the great goddess her speech
112. 'The world to sin has turned, and
113. then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil;
114. when I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil,
115. to evil were devoted all my people, and I prophesied

116. thus, 'I have begotten man and let him not
117. like the sons of the fishes fill the sea.'
118. The gods concerning the spirits, were weeping with her;
119. the gods in seats, seated in lamentation;
120. covered were their lips for the coming evil.
121. Six days and nights
122. passed, the wind tempest and storm overwhelmed,
123. on the seventh day in its course, was calmed the storm, and all the tempest
124. which had destroyed like an earthquake,
125. quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and tempest ended.
126. I was carried through the sea. The doer of evil,
127. and the whole of mankind who turned to sin,
128. like reeds their corpses floated.
129. I opened the window and the light broke in, over my refuge
130. it passed, I sat still and
131. over my refuge came peace.
132. I was carried over the shore, at the boundary of the sea.
133. For twelve measures it ascended over the land.
134. To the country of Nizir, went the ship;
135. the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it, it was not able.
136. The first day and the second day, the mountain of Nizir the same.
137. The third day and the fourth day, the mountain of Nizir the same.
138. The fifth and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same.
139. On the seventh day in the course of it
140. I sent forth a dove, and it left. The dove went and searched and
141. a resting place it did not find, and it returned.
142. I sent forth a swallow, and it left. The swallow went and searched and
143. a resting place it did not find, and it returned.
144. I sent forth a raven, and it left.
145. The raven went, and the corpses on the waters it saw, and

146. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return.
147. I sent the animals forth to the four winds I poured out a libation
148. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,
149. by sevens herbs I cut,
150. at the bottom of them, I placed reeds, pines, and simgar.
151. The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning.
152. the gods like sumbe over the sacrifice gathered,
153. From of old also, the great God in his course,
154. the great brightness of Anu had created; when the glory
155. of these gods, as of Ukni stone, on my countenance I could not endure;
156. in those days I prayed that for ever I might not endure.
157. May the gods come to my altar;
158. may Bel not come to my altar
159. for he did not consider and had made a tempest
160. and my people he had consigned to the deep
161. from of old, also Bel in his course
162. saw the ship, and went Bel with anger filled to the gods and spirits;
163. let not any one come out alive, let not a man be saved from the deep.
164. Ninip his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel,
165. 'who then will be saved,' Hea the words understood,
166. and Hea knew all things,
167 Hea his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel,
168. 'Thou prince of the gods, warrior,
169. when thou art angry a tempest thou makest,
170. the doer of sin did his sin, the doer of evil did his evil,
171. may the exalted not be broken, may the captive not be delivered;
172. instead of thee making a tempest, may lions increase and men be reduced;
173. instead of thee making a tempest, may leopards increase, and men be reduced;

174. instead of thee making a tempest, may a famine happen,
and the country be destroyed;
175. instead of thee making a tempest, may pestilence increase, and men be destroyed.'
176. I did not peer into the wisdom of the gods,
177. reverent and attentive a dream they sent, and the
wisdom of the gods he heard.
178. When his judgment was accomplished, Bel went up to
the midst of the ship,
179. he took my hand and brought me out, me
180. he brought out, he caused to bring my wife to my side,
181. he purified the country, he established in a covenant
and took the people
182. in the presence of Sisit and the people.
183. When Sisit and his wife and the people to be like the
gods were carried away,
184. then dwelt Sisit in a remote place at the mouth of the
rivers.
185. They took me and in a remote place at the mouth of
the rivers they seated me.
186. When to thee whom the gods have chosen thee, and
187. the life which thou has sought after, thou shalt gain
188. this do, for six days and seven nights
189. like I say also, in bonds bind him
190. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him."
191. Sisit after this manner, said to his wife
192. "I announce that the chief who grasps at life
193. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him."
194. His wife after this manner, said to Sisit afar off,
195. "Purify him and let the man be sent away,
196. the road that he came, may he return in peace,
197. the great gate open, and may he return to his country."
198. Sisit after this manner, said to his wife,
199. "The cry of a man alarms thee,
200. this do, his scarlet cloth place on his head."
201. And the day when he ascended the side of the ship
202. she did, his scarlet cloth she placed on his head,
203. and the day when he ascended on the side of the ship,

The next four lines describe seven things done to Izdubar

before he was purified. The passage is obscure and does not concern the Flood, so I have not translated it.

208. Izdubar after this manner, said to Sisit afar off,
209. "This way, she has done, I come up
210. joyfully, my strength thou givest me."
211. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar
212. . . . . thy scarlet cloth
213. . . . . I have lodged thee
214. . . . . .

The five following lines, which are mutilated, refer again to the seven matters for purifying Izdubar; this passage, like the former one, I do not translate.

219. Izdubar after this manner said to Sisit afar off
220. . . . . Sisit to thee may we not come.

From here the text is much mutilated, and it will be better to give a general account of its contents than to attempt a strict translation, especially as this part is not so interesting as the former part of the tablet.

Lines 221 to 223 mention some one who was taken and dwelt with Death. Lines 224 to 235 give a speech of Sisit to the seaman Urhamsi, directing him how to cure Izdubar, who, from the broken passages, appears to have been suffering from some form of skin disease. Izdubar was to be dipped in the sea, when beauty was to spread over his skin once more. In lines 236 to 241 the carrying out of these directions and the cure of Izdubar are recorded.

The tablet then reads as follows:

242. Izdubar and Urhamsi rode in the boat
243. where they placed them they rode
244. His wife after this manner said to Sisit afar off,
245. "Izdubar goes away, he is satisfied, he performs
246. that which thou hast given him and returns to his country."
247. And he heard, and after Izdubar
248. he went to the shore
249. Sisit after this manner said to Izdubar,

250. "Izdubar thou goest away thou art satisfied, thou performest
251. That which I have given thee and thou returnest to thy country
252. I have revealed to thee Izdubar the concealed story."

Lines 253 to 262, which are very mutilated, give the conclusion of the speech of Sisit, and then state that after hearing it, Izdubar took great stones and piled them up as a memorial of these events.

Lines 263 to 289 give in a very mutilated condition subsequent speeches and doings of Izdubar and Urhamsi. In this part journeys are mentioned of 10 and 20 kaspu, or 70 and 140 miles; a lion is also spoken of, but there is no further allusion to the Flood. These lines close the inscription, and are followed by a colophon which gives the heading of the next tablet, and the statement that this (the Flood Tablet) is the 11th tablet in the series giving the history of Izdubar, and that it is a copy of the ancient inscription.

Before entering into the details of the tablet, I must first refer to the accounts of the Deluge given in the Bible, and by Berosus, the Chaldean historian, as I shall have to compare these with the Cuneiform record.

The Biblical account of the Deluge, contained in the sixth to the ninth chapters of Genesis, is of course familiar to us all, so I will only give the outline of the narrative.

According to the Book of Genesis, as man multiplied on the earth, the whole race turned to evil, except the family of Noah. On account of the wickedness of man, the Lord determined to destroy the world by a flood, and gave command to Noah to build an ark, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high. Into this ark Noah entered according to the command of the Lord, taking with him his family, and pairs of each animal. After seven days the Flood commenced in the 600th year of Noah, the seventeenth day of the second month, and after 150 days the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month. We are then told that after 40 days Noah opened the window of the ark and sent forth a raven

which did not return. He then sent forth a dove, which finding no rest for the sole of her foot, returned to him. Seven days after he sent forth the dove a second time, and she returned to him with an olive leaf in her mouth. Again, after seven days, he sent forth the dove which returned to him no more. The Flood was dried up in the 601st year, on the first day of the first month, and on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, Noah removed from the ark and afterwards built an altar and offered sacrifices.

The Chaldean account of the Flood, as given by Berosus, I have taken from Cory's Ancient Fragments, page 26 to 29, is as follows:—

"After the death of Ardates, his son Xisuthrus reigned eighteen sari. In his time happened a great Deluge, the history of which is thus described: The Deity, Cronos, appeared to him in a vision, and warned him that upon the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius, there would be a flood, by which mankind would be destroyed. He, therefore, enjoined him to write a history of the beginning, procedure, and conclusion of all things; and to bury it in the City of the Sun at Sippara; and to build a vessel, and take with him into it his friends and relations; and to convey on board everything necessary to sustain life, together with all the different animals, both birds and quadrupeds, and trust himself fearlessly to the deep. Having asked the Deity whither he was to sail? he was answered, 'To the Gods;' upon which he offered up a prayer for the good of mankind. He then obeyed the Divine admonition, and built a vessel five stadia in length, and two in breadth. Into this he put everything which he had prepared: and last of all conveyed into it his wife, his children, and his friends.

"After the Flood had been upon the earth, and was in time abated, Xisuthrus sent out birds from the vessel, which not finding any food, nor any place whereupon they might rest their feet, returned to him again. After an interval of some days he sent them forth a second time, and they now returned with their feet tinged with mud. He made a trial a third time with these birds, but they returned to him no more: from whence he judged that the surface of the earth

had appeared above the waters. He, therefore, made an opening in the vessel, and upon looking out found that it was stranded upon the side of some mountain, upon which he immediately quitted it with his wife, his daughter, and the pilot. Xisuthrus then paid his adoration to the earth, and having constructed an altar, offered sacrifices to the gods, and, with those who had come out of the vessel with him, disappeared.

"They, who remained within, finding that their companions did not return, quitted the vessel with many lamentations, and called continually on the name of Xisuthrus. Him they saw no more; but they could distinguish his voice in the air, and could hear him admonish them to pay due regard to religion; and likewise informed them that it was upon account of his piety that he was translated to live with the gods, that his wife, and daughter, and the pilot, had obtained the same honour. To this he added, that they should return to Babylonia, and as it was ordained, search for the writings at Sippara, which they were to make known to all mankind; moreover, that the place wherein they then were, was the land of Armenia.

"The rest having heard these words, offered sacrifices to the gods, and taking a circuit, journeyed towards Babylonia.

"The vessel being thus stranded in Armenia, some part of it yet remains in the Corcyræan mountains."

In pages 33 and 34 of Cory's Fragments there is a second version, as follows:—

"And then Sisithrus. To him the deity Cronos foretold that on the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius there would be a deluge of rain: and he commanded him to deposit all the writings whatever which were in his possession, in the City of the Sun at Sippara. Sisithrus when he had complied with these commands, sailed immediately to Armenia, and was presently inspired by God. Upon the third day after the cessation of the rain Sisithrus sent out birds, by way of experiment, that he might judge whether the Flood had subsided. But the birds passing over an unbounded sea, without finding any place of rest, returned again to Sisithrus. This he repeated with other birds. And when upon the

third trial he succeeded, for the birds then returned with their feet stained with mud, the gods translated him from among men. With respect to the vessel, which yet remains in Armenia, it is a custom of the inhabitants to form bracelets and amulets of its wood."

There are several other accounts of the Flood in the traditions of different ancient nations; these, however, are neither so full nor so precise as the account of Berosus, and their details so far as they are given differ more from the Biblical narrative, so I shall not notice them now, but pass at once to the examination of the text.

In comparing the text of the Deluge Tablet with the accounts in the Bible and Berosus, the first point that meets us is the consideration of the proper names. This is the least satisfactory part of the subject, for, while the Greek forms show variant readings and have evidently been corrupted, the Cuneiform names, on the other hand being written mostly in monograms are difficult to render phonetically. The father of the hero of the Flood bears in the inscriptions the name Ubara-tutu which ought to correspond to one of the Greek forms, Otiártes or Ardátes, the resemblance however cannot be called a close one. The hero of the Flood I have provisionally called Sisit; he corresponds, of course, to the Greek Xisuthrus, but no comparison of the two names can be made until we know the phonetic reading of the Cuneiform name. Neither the Cuneiform nor the Greek names appear to have any connection with the Biblical Lamech and Noah. In the opening of the account of the Flood there is a noticeable difference between the Cuneiform and Biblical narratives, for while in the Jewish account one God only is mentioned, the Cuneiform inscription mentions all the principal gods of the early Babylonian Pantheon as engaged in bringing about the Flood.

The Cuneiform account agrees with the Biblical narrative in making the Deluge a divine punishment for the wickedness of the world, this point is omitted in the Greek accounts of Berosus.

The gods having resolved on the Deluge, the deity whom we have hitherto provisionally called Hea, announces the

coming event to Sisit. Now, in the account of Berosus, the god who announces the Deluge is stated to be Cronos; so this passage gives us the Cuneiform name of the deity identified by the Greeks with Cronos. The Greek account states that the communication of the coming Deluge was made in a dream. From the context it is probable that the Cuneiform account stated the same, but the text is here mutilated so that the point cannot be decided.

The dimensions of the vessel in the inscription are unfortunately lost by a fracture which has broken off both numbers, the passage which is otherwise complete, shows that the dimensions were expressed in cubits as in the Biblical account, but while Genesis makes the ark 50 cubits broad and 30 cubits high, the inscription states that the height and breadth were the same.

The greater part of the description of the building of the ark is lost. In the latter part of the account which is preserved, there is mention of the trial of the vessel by launching it into the sea, when defects being found which admitted the water, the outside and inside were coated with bitumen. These details have no parallel either in the Bible or Berosus. The description of the filling of the ark agrees in general with the two other accounts, but it differs from Genesis in not mentioning the sevens of clean animals and in including others beside the family of the builder.

The month and day when the Deluge commenced, which are given in the Bible and Berosus, are not mentioned in the text, unless the fifth day, mentioned in a mutilated passage, is part of this date.

The description of the Flood in the inscription is very vivid, it is said to have been so terrible that the gods fearing it, ascended to the heaven of Anu, that it is the highest and furthest heaven, the destruction of the human race is recorded, and the corpses of the wicked are said to have floated on the surface of the Flood.

With regard to the duration of the Deluge, there appears to be a serious difference between the Bible and the inscription. According to the account in the Book of Genesis, the Flood commenced on the seventeenth day of the second

month, the ark rested on Ararat after one hundred and fifty days on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, and the complete drying up of the Flood was not until the twenty-seventh day of the second month in the following year. The inscription, on the other hand, states that the Flood abated on the seventh day, and that the ship remained seven days on the mountain before the sending out of the birds.

On this point it must be remarked that some Biblical critics consider that there are two versions of the Flood story in Genesis itself, and that these two differ as to the duration of the Flood.

The Greek account of Berosus is silent as to the duration of the Deluge.

With regard to the mountain on which the ark rested there is a difference between the Bible and the inscription, which is more apparent than real. The Book of Genesis states that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat. According to the popular notion this refers to the mountain of Ararat, in Armenia; but these mountains may have been anywhere within the ancient territory of Ararat, and some Commentators looking at the passage in Berosus, where the ark is stated to have rested in the Gordiæan mountains, have inclined to place the mountain referred to in the Kurdish mountains, east of Assyria. In accordance with this indication the inscription states that the ship rested on the mountain of Nizir.

Now, the position of Nizir can be determined from the inscription of Assur-nazir-pal, king of Assyria. He made an expedition to this region, and starting from an Assyrian city, near Arbela, crossed the Lower Zab, and marching eastward between latitudes 35 and 36, arrived at the mountains of Nizir. These mountains of Nizir thus lay east of Assyria, but they form part of a series of mountain chains extending to the north-west into Armenia.

The vessel being stranded on the mountain, the Bible, Berosus, and the Inscription, all agree that trial was made by birds in order to ascertain if the Flood had subsided; but in the details of these trials there are curious differences in all three narratives. According to the Book of Genesis, a raven

was sent out first, which did not return; a dove was sent next, which finding no resting place returned to Noah. Seven days later the dove was sent out again, and returned with an olive leaf; and seven days after, on the dove being sent out again, it returned no more.

The account of Berosus mentions the sending out of the birds, but does not mention what kinds were tried. On the first trial the birds are said to have returned, and on the second trial likewise, this time with mud on their feet. On the third occasion they did not return.

The inscription states that, first, a dove was sent out, which finding no resting place, returned. On the second occasion a swallow was sent, which also returned. The third time a raven was sent out, which feeding on the corpses floating on the water, wandered away and did not return. Thus, the inscription agrees with the Bible as to the sending out of the raven and dove, but adds to these the trial of the swallow, which is not in Genesis. In the number of the trials it agrees with Berosus, who has three, while Genesis has four. On the other hand there is no mention of the dove returning with an olive leaf as in Genesis, and of the birds having their feet stained with mud, as in Berosus.

In the statement of the building of the altar, and offering sacrifice after leaving the ark, all three accounts agree; but in the subsequent matter there is an important difference between the Bible and the Inscription, for while the Bible represents Noah as living for many years after the Flood, the Inscription on the other hand agrees with Berosus in making Sisit to be translated like the gods. This translation is in the Bible recorded of Enoch, the ancestor of Noah.

On reviewing the evidence it is apparent that the events of the Flood narrated in the Bible and the Inscription are the same, and occur in the same order; but the minor differences in the details show that the inscription embodies a distinct and independent tradition.

In spite of a striking similarity in style, which shows itself in several places, the two narratives belong to totally distinct peoples. The Biblical account is the version of an inland people, the name of the ark in Genesis means a chest or box,

and not a ship; there is no notice of the sea, or of launching, no pilots are spoken of, no navigation is mentioned. The inscription on the other hand belongs to a maritime people, the ark is called a ship, the ship is launched into the sea, trial is made of it, and it is given in charge of a pilot.

The Cuneiform inscription, after giving the history of the Flood down to the sacrifice of Sisit, when he came out of the ark, goes back to the former part of the story, and mentions the god Bel in particular as the maker of the tempest or deluge; there appears to be a slight inconsistency between this and the former part of the inscription which suggests the question whether the Chaldean narrative itself may not have been compiled from two distinct and older accounts.

It is remarkable that the oldest traditions of the early Babylonians seem to centre round the Persian Gulf. From this sea, Oannes the fish god is supposed to have arisen, and the composite monsters who followed him in the antediluvian period came from the same region. Into this sea the ark was launched, and after the subsiding of the Deluge when Sisit was translated, he dwelt in this neighbourhood. To this sea also came the great hero Izdubar, and was cured, and here he heard the story of the Flood.

In conclusion I would remark that this account of the Deluge opens to us a new field of inquiry in the early part of the Bible history. The question has often been asked, "What is the origin of the accounts of the antediluvians, with their long lives so many times greater than the longest span of human life? Where was Paradise, the abode of the first parents of mankind? From whence comes the story of the flood, of the ark, of the birds?" Various conflicting answers have been given to these important questions, while evidence on these subjects before the Greek period has been entirely wanting. The Cuneiform inscriptions are now shedding a new light on these questions, and supplying material which future scholars will have to work out. Following this inscription, we may expect many other discoveries throwing light on these ancient periods, until we are able to form a decisive opinion on the many great questions involved. It would be a mistake to suppose

that with the translation and commentary on an inscription like this the matter is ended. The origin, age, and history of the legend have to be traced, and it has to be compared with the many similar stories current among various nations.

All these accounts, together with considerable portions of the ancient mythologies have, I believe, a common origin in the Plains of Chaldea. This county, the cradle of civilisation, the birthplace of the arts and sciences, for 2,000 years has been in ruins; its literature, containing the most precious records of antiquity, is scarcely known to us, except from the texts the Assyrians copied, but beneath its mounds and ruined cities, now awaiting exploration, lay, together with older copies of this Deluge text, other legends and histories of the earliest civilisation in the world.

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THE PHŒNICIAN PASSAGE IN THE PŒNULUS OF PLAUTUS.

BY THE REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

Read 4th February, 1873.

THE Pœnulus of Plautus was written at about the time when that poet commenced his public career, viz., in the year B.C. 224, cotemporaneously with the breaking out of the second Punic war. In a political point of view, therefore, and with reference to passing events, it would, no doubt, be highly popular for a comedian to bring an impersonation of one of the hostile nation upon the stage, and hold him up to public ridicule, as the *Bilinguis*—speaking at one time in the Phœnician of Carthage, and at another in the debased dialect of Lybia. But with this aspect of the Comedy we have nothing to do. It has an interest for us only as containing ten lines of ancient Carthaginian or Phœnician, and thus offering points of contact with Hebrew literature and enabling us to illustrate a few passages of Holy Scripture. It tends to show that the Carthaginian dialect in the middle of the third century B.C., and the

Hebrew of Moses and the Prophets, are both, to a great extent, identified—in other words, that the Hebrew of the Bible is no other than a dialectic variety of the Canaanitish or Phœnician tongue expressed in the Chaldæan character, not brought, as has been thought, by Abraham himself from Ur of the Chaldæes, but adopted by the Israelites during their long captivities.

Now, in the first place, the jocose title which Plautus himself gives to the Pœnulus in the prologue, at line 53, is curious, and deserves a remark. He says that his comedy might be called *Carchedonius*, the Carthaginian, or, *Patricus Pultiphagonides* the pottage-eating uncle—this uncle being Hanno, a bewildered Carthaginian wandering the streets of Rome in search of his two stolen daughters; the word Hanno, by the way, being of course only another form of the Scriptural *Hannah* (חַנָּה), Grecized *Ananias*. The nearly similar term *Pultiphagus*, as the equivalent of *Pœnus*, occurs again in the Mostellaria (iii, 2, 143), the point there being to show that certain doorposts were badly made and did not fit well, because they were not made by a Pultiphagus or Phœnician. The Phœnicians were noted at *Rome* exactly as they had been in *Greece* in the days of Homer, who calls them πολυδαιδαλοι (Il. ψ. 743) "artists of varied skill," and in *Jerusalem* in the times of the Kings of Israel) as skilful *carpenters*. Thus, on the one hand, we find mention made, not only as in the Mostellaria, of Phœnicians as *house builders*, but as clever *joiners;* as, when we read in Pliny (xxxiii, 11) of *lecti Punici;* in Seneca (Ep. 95, ad f.) of *lectulos artificio Pœnorum factos;* in Varro, of *fenestræ Punicanæ* and *torculare Punicum;* in the fragments of M. Porcius Cato, of *coagmenta Punica*, well-fitting joints; and in Philo's Legatio ad Caium (p. 1024, vol. ii, Mangey), of Punic works of art generally as well known in Rome:—and, on the other hand, in Jerusalem, we read of Solomon sending to Hiram king of Tyre, for "*cunning men*" of "*skill to cut timber .... and to prepare timber*" for the "*house which he was about to build*" (2 Chron. ii, 8, 9). Indeed the same thing had taken place in the day of David, to whom we read that "*Hiram sent messengers a cedar trees and carpenters and masons, and they built David*

house" (2 Sam. v, 11); and as late even as the days of Ezra, at the rebuilding of the temple, we are told that *they gave money unto the masons and to the carpenters and meat and drink and oil unto them of Sidon and to them of Tyre to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa* (Ezra iii, 7). So that upon this point there is a note-worthy harmony between the sacred and profane writers. But, as I have already said, Plautus describes the Phœnicians as Pultiphagi—consumers of pottage or other cereal food. This is corroborated by Athenæus in the Deipnosophist, iii, 28 and 36, where he speaks of the ἄρτος ἄπαλος of Syria and *Phœnicia*, and of the *best bakers* as coming from Phœnicia, and describes certain meal-cakes made with milk, oil, and honey, and resembling the Roman *liba;* and Cato de re Rustica, c. 85, gives a receipt for making the *Puls Punica.* Festus also mentions a peculiar Syrian bread called Mamphula, made, as the root of that word indicates, of sifted wheat (מפל בר). Now, it strikes me as something curious, that Solomon should have promised his Phœnician workmen 20,000 *measures of ground wheat*, 20,000 *measures of barley, and a large quantity of oil*, as well as *wine*,—an offer which seems to have been very carefully accepted by Hiram, who says (2 Chron. ii, 15), *Now therefore the wheat and the barley . . . . which my lord hath spoken of, let him send unto his servants and we will cut the wood.* Without pressing this point, however, the fact certainly remains, that both in Scriptural and Classical antiquity the Phœnicians for centuries anterior to the Christian era were famous, not only as we commonly think of them, as a people who did the carrying trade, were the manufacturers of stuffs dyed with Tyrian purple, and the merchants *par excellence* of the old world, but also as *mechanics and carpenters.*

I now proceed to the speech or soliloquy of Hanno in the opening of the fifth act of the Pœnulus, or rather to its first ten lines, as it is of these that Plautus has put a loose explanatory translation into Hanno's own mouth. The remaining six lines, together with the shorter non-Latin speeches of Hanno and the Nurse, are referable to the Lybic or Numidian dialect, and require a separate consideration.

Of these first ten lines Gesenius tells us that they have contracted in the lapse of ages, and through the ignorance or carelessness of copyists, *nævos vix sanabiles*, and that for some of them *neque medela neque explicatio probabilis inventa est.* The second line he says is *difficillimus omnium*, and it may give some idea of what those difficulties are when it is stated that out of the thirty-nine letters of which it is composed, no less than twenty-one have been treated as spurious by himself and by Bochart in his Phaleg—and that one of them translates it, "*In order that my plans may be made good, may my business be prospered by their guidance,*"—the other, "*In order that as the gods have taken away my prosperity, my desires may be fulfilled at their bidding;*" while Gronovius renders,—"*Accept my deprecation and my integrity. I have begotten two daughters who are my strength.*" *!!!* It would seem, however, that what is wanted for the restoration and interpretation of this curious relic of Phœnician, is not any attempt, with one learned author (Sappuhn),[1] to prove that it is explicable only by reference to the Aramæan, or with another (Casir)[2] by reference to a mixture of the Arabic and Maltese dialects; and least of all (with Vallencey) by reference to the Irish. Neither is there required the substitution of fresh though similar words, nor the insertion of conjectural words or glosses, but mainly an elimination of the vowels, inasmuch as none of these would appear in the original Semitic text, and then simply a reconstruction of the letters. I do not mean their transposition, but that letters or syllables which belong to each other and have been torn asunder should be reunited; because, as the text stands, it is obvious that letters and syllables have been wrongly combined, and even compounded into words, which really are no words at all. With scarcely any violence or real change, I conceive that the text may thus be read in Hebrew-Phœnician, as at least an approximation towards the true restoration of the text:—

נא את אלונים ואלונות שקורא אתי שמקום זאת
כי ימלחון את מומים יש לי על מחה בריים איש:
כי לפורקן יתי את בנחי עדי העדן בנותי:

[1] G. H. Sappuhn, Commentatio philologica. Lipsiæ, 1731.
[2] Bibl. Escurial, t. ii, p. 27.

בבין הרוב של לו הוא בימי שיר תוהו:
בית לי אם מות אין נוחת אותו בחלד
אנטידמס מקום:
יש שעדה לעברים את אפל את חלי
שקונתם לאפל:
ואת כן אם יש דברתי הנאקותינו אגורסטוכלס:
את אמנתי היא כיר הוק זאת נושא:
ביני את עֵד כי לו אלה גבולים לשבת תם:
בעודים על תרע הנני יש להם המון קוטי
לעזים:

Now on the gods and goddesses of this place I call,
To cleanse my stains that so I may be spotless—
To recover for me my daughters the joy of my old age, my daughters.
Out of the abundance which *was* his, there is a void in the day of song.
If death had not come down upon him, the house of Antidamas should be my place;
[But] He is one of the company that walk in darkness, the host whose abode is darkness;[1]
And Agorastocles, if I am rightly so told, is the son that laments him.
Here is my token of good faith—a graven image—this is it that I bring—
A witness that this place is his abode.
Here am I among the passengers by the door: there are many among them who loath my speech.

The text of Plautus as it stands in the edition o Gronovius is as follows:

Neith alonim vualonuth si chorathisma comsyth
Chym lachchunyth munys thalmyctabati imisci
Lipho canet byth mythii adædin bynuthii
Byrnarob syllo homalonin uby misyrthoho

[1] This line is rendered by Plautus: "*Eum fecisse aiunt sibi quod faciundum fuit,*"—probably a periphrastic and euphemistic way of avoiding the mention of Death, and meaning that "he has done what we all must do," namely, depart this life.

Bylhlym mothym noctothii nelechanli dasmachon
Ussidele brim tyfel yth chylyschon, tem, liphul
Uth bynim ysditut thinno cuth nu Agorastocles
Ythe manet ihy chyrsae lycoch sith naso
Byuni id chil luhili gubylim lasibit thim
Bodyalit herayn nyn nuys lym moncoth lusim.

Bochart, in his Phaleg ii, 2, 6, thus restored this text:—

נא את עליונים ו עליונות שכורת יסמכון זאת
כי מלכי יתמו: מצליח מדבריהם עסקו
לפורקנת את בני את יד עדי ובנותי
ברוח רוב שלהם עליונים ובמשורת הם
בטרם מות חנות אותי הלך אנטידמרכון
איש שידע לי: ברם טפל את חילי שבינתם לאפל
את בן אמיץ דבור תם נקוט נוה אגורסטקליס
חותם חנותי הוא כיור שאלי חוק זאת נושא
ביני עד כי לי האלה גבולים לשבת תם
בוא די עלי תרע אנא: חנו אשאל אם מנכר לו שם

Which he thus renders—

Rogo deos et deas qui hanc regionem tuentur
Ut consilia mea compleantur; prosperum sit ex duc[illegible]u eorum negotium meum.
Ad liberationem filii mei e manu prædonis et filiaru[illegible]m mearum.
Dii (inquam id præstent) per spiritum multum qui est [illegible]n ipsis et per providentiam suam,
Ante obitum diversari apud me solebat Antidamarchus
Vir mihi familiaris: sed is eorum cætibus junctus e[illegible]t quorum habitatio est in caligme.
Filium ejus constans fama est ibi fixisse sedem, Agora[illegible]-toclem (nomine).
Sigillum hospitii mei est tabula sculpta, cujus sculptu[illegible]a est Deus meus: id fero.
Indicavit mihi testis eum habitare in his finibus.
Venit aliquis per portam hanc: Ecce eum: rogabo eum num quid noverit nomen (Agorastoclis).

The *writing* and *language* in Africa were both *Punic* and *Libyan.* Polyb. iii, 39: "The Carthaginians at that time (second Punic war) were masters of Libya." Hence the Pœni are called *bilingues*, as in Virg. Æn. 1, 661, *Tyriosque bilingues.* Plaut. Pœn. v. 2, 73: "Bisulcilingua quasi proserpens bestia."

The following are a few of the words identical with or illustrative of similar words in Biblical Hebrew.

Of course *alyonim* is merely the plural of the Hebrew עליון, of which *alyonoth* is the feminine plural, not known to Biblical Hebrew.

(1.) אתי seems to be used as the equivalent of אני, of which it may merely be a textual corruption. It would, however, be curious if this passage has preserved אֲתִי as 1st pers. pronoun. תִי is the invariable 1st pers. suffix of verbs, and may be thus accounted for.

Macom, like the Hebrew מקום *place*, used here for *city*, exactly in the same way as מקום is used for עיר in Gen. xviii, 24—"Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the *city:* wilt thou not spare the *place* for the fifty righteous?" Gesenius also (p. 370) quotes the inscription of a Numidian coin as inscribed with מקום שמש, the *City* of the Sun.

(2.) ימלחון, *that they would purify or purge.* This word is used in Ezekiel xvi, 4, of rubbing newly-born children with salt—according to Galen de Sanit. 1, 7—to make the skin dry and firm.

(3.) פרקן *deliverance.* This noun is not used in the Bible, though the verb פָּרַק and in Daniel פְּרַק occurs in the sense of *delivering.* The noun, however, is of frequent occurrence in Arabic, and is one of the titles of the Koran, and constantly occurs in the Rabbinic writings.

(4.) We have here עבר in the sense of *passer over*, or *pilgrim*, the word that gives its name to the Hebrew race.

(5.) לָעַז the common Hebrew word for the speakers of a barbarous dialect, such as the Carthaginian would be to the Romans, and the Assyrian to the Hebrews; this use of the word illustrates the use of the same word in those passages of Scripture, like Psalm cxiv, 1, where it is used of *a strange language*—as if to speak a strange language was thought of as something inimical and offensive.

It would be easy to adduce other instances. But it will be less tedious to say that the net result of a comparison of the first ten lines of Hanno's speech with Biblical Hebrew is, that of ninety-one words, sixty may be found in any Hebrew dictionary, and that the remainder are, with three exceptions, merely dialectic Phœnician varieties of roots in common use in classical Hebrew.

It may also be remarked, that the pronunciation of this Hebrew-Phœnician passage which Plautus has put into the mouth of Hanno, agrees throughout with the system of pronunciation indicated by the Masoretic points, the initial י being always treated by Plautus as a vowel, and taking the sound of the point attached to it by the Punctuists. There seems, so far as we can judge from this passage, to be a very slight difference between the pronunciation of the Phœnician as spoken in Carthage in the days of Plautus and that handed down to us as the pronunciation of the Hebrew in the times of the Israelitish Kings. The name of *Dido*, the queen of Carthage, is only another form of that of the Royal Psalmist David; *Elisa* (אֵל אִישָׁה), the woman hero, and Carthage itself (קָרֶת), *metropolis*. *Sichæus*, the husband of Dido, has the same root as זַכַּי or Zacchæus; *Pygmalion* פַּעֲמַ עֶלְיוֹן *malleus Dei*, hammer of God—a mode of expression analogous to that of the *hammer of the word* in the Prophet Jeremiah xxiii, 29.

NIMROD AND THE ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

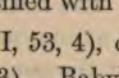
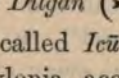
By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read 1st April, 1873.

The identification of the Biblical Nimrod is one of the problems connected with Assyrian research which still await their solution. Various suggestions have been put forward from time to time by the decipherers of the inscriptions—now that he was an ethnic title representing the tribe of Namri, now that he was the god Bel, now that he was no other than Khammurabi the Elamite conqueror of Babylonia; but they have all been equally unsatisfactory. The object of this paper is to point out that all our evidence in the matter, so far as it extends at present, goes to identify the great hunter of the ancient world with Merodach.

Now the chief points of identification which we possess are three in number:—the relation of Nimrod to Babylonia, his character as a hunter, and his name. These we shall examine in their order.

The name of Nimrod occurs twice in the Old Testament, in Gen. x, 8–11, and again in Micah v, 6. The latter prophet speaks of the "land of Nimrod" as synonymous with Babylonia, at that time under the sway of Sargon, and puts "the land of Assur" and "the land of Nimrod" upon one and the same footing. The same is the case in the ethnological table of Genesis. There, just as Nimrod is the founder of the four primæval cities of Chaldæa, so Assur is the founder and eponyme of the four primæval cities of Assyria. The two heroes are the counterparts one of the other. What Assur is to Assyria, Nimrod is to Babylonia. Now Assur or Asur represents the earliest capital of Assyria, whose ruins are to be found at Kileh Shergat. In all probability it is the Ellasar of Gen. xiv, 1, where the initial אל

would be the Assyrian *âlu* "city." Assur was of Accadian origin; in other words, its builders must have come from the southern alluvial plains of the Euphrates, in agreement with the statement of Genesis, bringing with them the art of writing, which had already been invented in Chaldæa. The tablets explain the meaning of the name as "water-border" or "water-bank," from the Accadian *a* "water" (Assyrian *mie*) and *usar* "border" (Assyrian *sedtuv*), no doubt in allusion to its situation on the Tigris. The title Assur extended itself from the city to the surrounding country, and became abstracted into a deity, the patron and eponyme of Assyria. The power of the later Assyrian Empire was expressed by making this god the head of the Pantheon, and the father of the three originally supreme gods Anu, Bil, and Hea (Damasc. De pr. Princip. ed. Kopp, p. 324). Now, in the inscriptions, Merodach in the South answers to Assur in the North; and just as Assur is the patron-deity of Nineveh, so Merodach is the patron-deity of Babylon. As early as the time of Khammurabi, we find the king calling himself *casid irniti Maruduc rin mutib libbi-su*, "conqueror of the enemies of Merodach, the shepherd who makes good his heart"; and as soon as a Semitic dynasty is established in Babylonia we have monarchs named Merodach-gina, Merodach-iddin-akhi, &c. Merodach, "the great lord," "the illuminator of the gods," "the extender of lands and men," is the primary object of Nebuchadnezzar's worship. As the planet Mercury, he is identified with *Dilgan* () "the star of Babylon" (W.A.I. III, 53, 4), called *Icū* () by the Assyrians (III, 68, 13). Babylonia, accordingly, may be described as the land of Merodach, just as it is called the land of Nimrod in Micah; and the same relation that exists between Assur and Nimrod in the Old Testament exists between Assur and Merodach in the native monuments. Here, therefore, is a strong presumption in favour of the identity of the two.

The second characteristic of the Biblical Nimrod, which we are able to use in evidence, is his character as a hunter. It is as the wild huntsman of the ancient world that his name became a proverb throughout the East,—"Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord." Now the same

character belongs also to Merodach. A mythological tablet (W.A.I. II, 56, 25–29) gives us the following curious information:—"The god Uccumu (𒀭 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒀀), the god Accalu (𒀭 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀), the god Icsuda (𒀭 𒀭𒅗𒅗𒅗 𒀀𒀀𒀀), and the god Iltebu (𒀭 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒀀𒀀𒀀), [are] the four names of the dog[s] of Merodach" (𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭𒅗𒅗𒅗 𒀀𒀀𒀀). The first three words are easy enough to interpret, "the despoiler" from עכם (*ecimu*), "the devourer," from אכל (*acalu*), and "the seizer," from כשד (*casadu*); but *Iltebu* is more obscure. It may be "the consumer," from להב or (more probably, considering the vowel of the inserted dental) "the capturer," from שאב (Hebrew שבה). Here we see Merodach accompanied by his dogs, like the Greek Orion or the Wild Huntsman of mediæval legend, and it is impossible not to compare him with the description of Nimrod given in Genesis. According to Ebers (Ægypten u. d. Bücher Mosés, p. 58), the Egyptians were already acquainted with the story in the 14th century B.C. In the Papyrus Anastasi I, 23, 6, it is said of the Mohar, whose travels in Canaan are narrated, "Thy name is like that of Katarti, the Lord of Assyria, after his fight with the Hyænas." If the reading Katarti is correct, it is remarkably similar to Gudibir, the common Accadian name of Merodach (W.A.I. II, 48, 36). So that here again we have a point of connection between the tutelary god of Babylon and the Biblical hero.

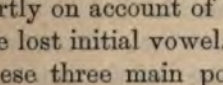
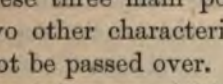
The last chief point of identification is the name Merodach, in Assyrian *Maruduc*, is a modification of the Accadian *Amar-ud* or *Amar-ut* (𒀭 𒀀𒀀𒀀), as the name of the god is usually written. The initial vowel is dropped as in the name of the Babylonian city Amar-da, which becomes *Marad* in Assyrian. *Amar-ut* would signify "the circle[1] of the day," *ut* or *ud* being "*sun*," "day," or "light," and when used

[1] I follow the French School in translating *Amar* "circle." The Syllabary, however (W.A.I. II, 1, 156), renders *amar* by *bu-u-ru*, and *buhru* is found in the inscriptions only as the equivalent of the Heb. בור, in the sense of "pit" or "snare."

as an adjective, "white." A longer form of *ut* was *Utu* (W.A.I. II, 57, 15), and this was still further increased by the addition of *ci*, whence we get *Utuci* (W.A.I. II, 48, 34) contracted in Assyrian to Utuc or *Uduc* "a spirit." The postposition *ci* (originally "place") meant "with," and hence was sometimes employed to form adjectives, like the postposition *ga*. "The circle of the day" would seem to refer to Merodach as the planet Mercury, or possibly would point to an original solar conception.[1] At any rate, the fact remains that his ordinary Accadian name was *Amar-ud*. The resemblance of this word to Nimrod will be evident to everyone, the initial nasal in the latter alone requiring explanation. This is no doubt a difficulty, and the easiest way of escaping from it would be to assume a misreading in the Hebrew text, ע having been taken for נ. But two facts decisively exclude such a supposition. One is the occurrence of the word in *two* passages of the Old Testament; the other is the existence of the name in Egypt, under the XXIInd dynasty, which it has been conjectured was of Assyrian origin, the proper name Namurot is met with more than once; and this gives us a clue to the interpretation of the difficulty before us. Egyptian influence has long been recognised in the ethnological table of Genesis; the list of the sons of Mizraim alone would show that some portion at least of the information has been derived from Egypt. Now Nimrod (*Nimrudu*) would be a niphal derivative, formed in

[1] The more the Babylonian mythology is examined the more solar is its origin found to be; thus confirming the results arrived at in the Aryan and Semitic fields of research. It is true that Anu, the son of "mother Heaven," was the Sky, and Héa, with his symbol the serpent, was primarily the Earth, whence he came to be the god of rivers as well as of the house and hearth, and of building generally; but the other great deities, so far as I can see at present, seem all to go back to the Sun. Thus, Adar or Nin-ip, the god of the thunderbolt and stormcloud, is called "the Sun of the South" (W.A.I. II, 57, 51); Raman, or Æther, is "the meridian Sun in Elam" (II, 57, 76), Nebo is the "Eastern Sun" in "the height of heaven" (I, 58, 13, II, 48, 55), identified with the Aryan *Mitra* (𒀭𒌋𒄩𒁹𒀀𒈬) in III, 69, 63, and Ur (𒀭𒌋𒄩𒁹𒀀𒈬), the god of "the foundation," whom I would compare with the *Al-orus* of Berosus, signifies the "West" (I, 58, 13); while Gisdhubar whose story is told in the tablets which contain the Chaldean account of the Deluge, is a solar hero, as Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out.

full accordance with the principles of Assyrian grammar; and when once *Amar-ud* had become *Marud*, with a definite meaning of its own, it would only be consistent with the ordinary procedure of Assyrian to treat the word as a Semitic root, and assimilate its form to its signification. Thus the Assyrian borrowed *kharra* "man" from the Accadian under the Semitised form *khairu*, and then derived from this *khiratu* "woman." In fact, when once one of the numerous loan-words which made their way from the old language of Chaldæa into Assyrian had become part and parcel of that language, their further modification, according to the spirit of Semitic grammar, followed as a matter of course. If, therefore, *Amar-ud* were borrowed by the Assyrian, and we know that the longer form *Amar-uduci* was, there is no difficulty in understanding how it came to appear as a niphal derivative, partly on account of the meaning, partly to compensate for the lost initial vowel.

Besides these three main points of identification, there are one or two other characteristics of the Biblical Nimrod which must not be passed over. It is said of him that "he began to be a mighty one (*gibbor*) in the earth"; and this again suits Merodach well. Merodach alone of the gods is symbolised by the human figure—a man walking—which perhaps had much to do with his being identified by the Greeks with their Zeus. But more than this. In the mythological tablets he is called *Gusur* (W.A.I. II, 47, 23), possibly connected with the common root *gasru* "strong," and this is rendered "Merodach the hero" (); while as *Dun-pa-uddu*, the name which the planet Mercury bears during the month Nisan, his title is *sanū nis Kharrana* () "lord of the men of Haran" (III, 67, 28). This connection of Harran with the star-worship and astrology of the Accadians is interesting. Besides being "a mighty one," Nimrod, we are told, reigned in "the beginning" over Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. The phrase is a remarkable one, and, as has long ago been pointed out, agrees better with the idea of a dynasty or a tutelary deity than of an individual monarch. Now the cycle of tablets which Mr. Smith has

discovered, and which contain the famous account of the Deluge, mention but four cities, Babylon, Erech, Nipur, and Surippac, thus coinciding with the enumeration of Genesis. All these cities lay in the alluvial plain between the Tigris and Euphrates, which would accordingly be the Shinar of Scripture, Ur on the western bank of the Euphrates being excluded from the list. Surippac would seem to be a synonyme of Larsa, the modern Mugeyer, since the hero of the Chaldean flood is called a Surippacite, and Berosus assigns the father of Sisuthrus to Larancha, while Calneh, or *Καλαννῆ*,[1] "the town of Anu," has already been identified with Nipur by Sir H. Rawlinson. Accad must be corrected, as it was not a city, but a country, the "highlands" of Elam, whence the Accadai descended and conquered Babylonia, which up to that time would seem to have borne the name of Sumiri or Shinar. Just as the list of cities in Genesis begins with Babylon, so are the antediluvian kings of Berosus headed by Alorus the Babylonian, and along with the supremacy of Babylon would go the supremacy of the god Merodach, whose "gate" and home it was.

The only remaining piece of information that the passage in Genesis gives us about Nimrod, is that he was the son of Cush. Here there is a discrepancy between the Scriptural hero and the Babylonian god. Merodach was "the eldest son of Hea"; while as a planet when called Dil-gan he was "the spirit of Hea" (III, 68, 13), and in the month Adar he was "the fish of Hea." Cūsu, on the other hand, was one of "the fourteen great gods, the sons of Anu," and, consequently, according to Babylonian theology, the cousin of Merodach. Cush, however, is a geographical title, and best receives its explanation from Gen. ii, 13, where the Gihon, which I have shown elsewhere[2] to be a synonyme of the Euphrates, is said to encompass the whole land of Cush. The statement that "Cush begat Nimrod" would merely assert his Babylonian origin.

[1] This is the name of the city in the Septuagint. *Kal* or *Kalla* was one of the Accadian words for "town," according to W.A.I. II, 30, 14.

[2] Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 300.

So far, then, as our evidence goes at present, it seems to me that we must regard the identification of Nimrod with Merodach as fairly made out. The comparison has been made before on the mere ground of similarity of name, by Von Bohlen, who saw in him Merodach-Baladan, the opponent of Sargon and Sennacherib, and by Chwolsohn, who would connect the Nimrod of Ibn Wahshiya with the Mardok-entes of Berosus.

TRANSLATION OF AN EGYPTIAN HYMN TO AMEN.

By C. W. Goodwin, M.A.

Read 6th May, 1873.

I offer to the Society a translation of a Hymn to Amen, from a hieratic papyrus lately published by M. Mariette, being No. 17 of the Boulaq Collection of Papyri. It is not a very long composition, being contained in eleven pages of moderate size, and consisting of only twenty verses. It has the advantage of being nearly perfect from beginning to end, written in a legible hand, and free from any great difficulties for the translator. From the handwriting of the papyrus it may be judged to belong to the XIXth dynasty, or about the fourteenth century B.C. It purports to be only a copy, and the composition itself may be very much earlier. I presume it will be thought interesting to compare this specimen of Egyptian psalmody with some of those in the Hebrew collection, with which it may seem to have some points in common. The recognition of one sole creator and governor of the earth and all its inhabitants, is, we shall find, quite familiar to the Egyptians, whose religious views were little comprehended by the Greek and Roman writers, who until recently were our principal authorities. They were principally struck by the external parts of the Egyptian worship, and particularly by the veneration of sacred animals, which was a sore puzzle to them, and afforded a subject for much ridicule. Probably the well-instructed Egyptians no more worshipped as gods crocodiles, ibises, and cats than the Dutch do storks or than we do the animals in the Zoological Gardens, though they certainly paid them much honour, as religious symbols. The central doctrine in Egyptian religion was Sun-worship. The Sun, with whom

Amen, the old local god of Thebes, was identified, was looked upon as the source of all being, the father of men and things. This religion appears to have been engrafted upon an older one existing in Egypt in the primæval period, and which probably consisted in the worship of ancestors, while it also recognised various animals as the tutelary ancestors of certain cities, much as the North-American Indian tribes[1] venerate their *totems*, or beast-ancestors. A trace of this substitution of the solar religion for a prior one is found in our hymn, where Amen the Sun, although celebrated as the creator of all things, is yet said to be begotten by Ptah, the primæval local god of Memphis. This agrees with the account of Manetho, who says that Hephæstus, that is Ptah, was the first (king or god) of the Egyptians, and was celebrated as the discoverer of fire,—from whom sprang the Sun; after whom was Agathodæmon; then Cronos; then Osiris; after Osiris his brother Typhon; and lastly Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris.

This mythological account implies the view that the worship of Ptah and similar local gods was the earliest phase of religion in Egypt; that the worship of the Sun followed, and that the Osirian creed, the salvation of the bodies and souls of men, by identification with the king slain and afterwards exalted to be the judge of the dead, was the last introduced.

The solar creed did not entirely efface the more primitive religion, nor did the Osirian scheme in any way interfere with the adoration of the Sun as the one god of the universe.

In the hymn which I am about to read, no mention whatever is made of Osiris, but we find the names of Horus and of Thoth. The two legends of the contest of the Sun with Darkness, and of Osiris with Set, the enemy of truth, were parallel the one to the other, and we find them in the seventeenth chapter of the Ritual placed side by side and identified. In our hymn the solar religion is alone conspicuous, but without being in opposition to or exclusive of the Osirian dogma. The imagery is of a stereotyped kind,

[1] See Diodorus Siculus, Book I, cap. 90, for an explanation of Animal-worship.

and in variety and sublimity falls far short of the old Hebrew psalms. Yet there is a certain fervour of adoration which commands respect. The writer seems as though language failed him to express all he felt, and he repeats over and over again the well used epithets which preceding writers had furnished, and most of which had probably been handed down from very early times. We should be able to appreciate them better were we in full possession of the legends to which most of them relate.

The title of "Bull," frequently applied to Amen, is a common epithet, implying youth, strength, and valour; and the phrase "bull of his mother" means, I believe, the valiant son of his mother. In the D'Orbiney Papyrus, Batau is addressed as "bull of the cycle of the gods," meaning, I think, "son of the gods;" and on one of the obelisks Rameses II is called "the bull of Sutech," *i.e.*, the valiant son of Sutech.

In the second verse of our hymn Amen is called "beautiful bull of the cycle of gods," and to call him the son of the gods who is in the same breath styled father of the gods may appear inconsistent, but I have before remarked that the Sun, though here adored as the creator of all things, is yet expressly called "the begotten of Ptah." To the Egyptians there seems to have been nothing unintelligible in this confusion of father and son. Upon the coffin of King Seti I. we find these very words put in the mouth of Ra or Tum:—"I am the son proceeding from the father, I am the father proceeding from his son" (Bonomi, pl. 4, cols. 12, 13, 14, 15, lower range).

In the original, the beginning of each verse is indicated by rubricated letters. Each verse is also divided into short phrases by small red points. These are indicated in the translation by colons.

A few philological notes, interesting only to the Egyptologist, are added at the end.

BOULAQ PAPYRUS, No. 17.

1. Praise to Amen-Ra: the bull in An (Heliopolis) chief of all gods: the good god beloved: giving life to all animated things: to all fair cattle: Hail to thee Amen-Ra lord of the thrones of the earth: chief in Aptu (Thebes): the bull of his mother in his field: turning his feet towards the land of the south: lord of the heathen, prince of Punt (Arabia): the ancient of heaven, the oldest of the earth: lord of all existences, the support of things, the support of all things.
2. The ONE in his works, single(?) among the gods: the beautiful bull of the cycle of gods: chief of all the gods: lord of truth, father of the gods: maker of men, creator of beasts: lord of existences, creator of fruitful trees: maker of herbs, feeder of cattle: good being begotten of Ptah, beautiful youth beloved: to whom the gods give honour: maker of things below and above, enlightener of the earth: sailing in heaven in tranquillity: King Ra true speaker, chief of the earth: most glorious one, lord of terror: chief creator of the whole earth.
3. Supporter of affairs above every god: in whose goodness the gods rejoice: to whom adoration is paid in the great house: crowned in the house of flame: whose fragrance the gods love: when he comes from Arabia: prince of the dew, traversing foreign lands: benignly approaching the Holy Land (Palestine or Arabia).
4. The gods attend his feet: whilst they acknowledge his Majesty as their Lord: lord of terror most awful: greatest of spirits, mighty in . . . . . .: bring offerings, make sacrifices: salutation to thee maker of the gods: supporter of the heavens, founder of the earth.
5. Awake in strength Min (Chem) Amen: lord of eternity maker everlasting: lord of adoration, chief in . . . . .: strong with beautiful horns: lord of the crown high plumed: of the fair turban (wearing) the white crown: the coronet (Mahennu) and the diadem (Uati) are the ornaments of his face: he is invested with Ami-ha(?):

the double crown is his head-gear, (he wears) the red crown: benignly he receives the Atef-crown: on whose south and on whose north is love: the lord of life receives the sceptre: lord of the breastplate (?) armed with the whip.

6. Gracious ruler crowned with the white crown: lord of beams maker of light: to whom the gods give praises: who stretches forth his arms at his pleasure: consuming his enemies with flame: whose eye subdues the wicked: sending forth its dart to the roof of the firmament: sending its arrows (?) against Naka to consume him.

7. Hail to thee Ra lord of truth: whose shrine is hidden, lord of the gods: Chepra (the creator) in his boat: at whose command the gods were made: Athom maker of men: supporting their works, giving them life: distinguishing the colour of one from another: listening to the poor who is in distress: gentle of heart when one cries unto him.

8. Deliverer of the timid man from the violent: judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed: lord of wisdom whose precepts are wise: at whose pleasure the Nile overflows: lord of mercy most loving: at whose coming men live: opener of every eye: proceeding from the firmament: causer of pleasure and light: at whose goodness the gods rejoice: their hearts revive when they see him.

9. O! Ra adored in Aptu (Thebes): high-crowned in the house of the obelisk (Heliopolis): King (Ani) lord of the New-moon festival: to whom the sixth and seventh days are sacred: sovereign of life health and strength, lord of all the gods: who art visible in the midst of heaven: ruler of men . . . . . .: whose name is hidden from his creatures: in his name which is Amen (hidden).

10. Hail to thee who art in tranquillity: lord of magnanimity strong in apparel: lord of the crown high plumed: of the beautiful turban, of the tall white crown: the gods love thy presence: when the double crown is set upon thy head: thy love pervades the earth: thy beams arise (? . . . . . men are cheered by thy rising: the beasts shrink from thy beams: thy love is over the southern heaven: thy heart is not [unmindful of] the northern

heaven: thy goodness . . . . . (all) hearts: thy love subdues (all) hands: thy creations are fair overcoming (all) the earth: (all) hearts are softened at beholding thee.

11. The ONE maker of existences: (creator) of . . . . . maker of beings: from whose eyes mankind proceeded: of whose mouth are the gods: maker of grass for the cattle (oxen, goats, asses, pigs, sheep): fruitful trees for men: causing the fish to live in the river: the birds to fill the air: giving breath to those in the egg: feeding the bird that flies: giving food to the bird that perches: to the creeping thing and the flying thing equally: providing food for the rats in their holes: feeding the flying things (?) in every tree.

12. Hail to thee for all these things: the ONE alone with many hands: lying awake while all men lie (asleep): to seek out the good of his creatures: Amen sustainer of all things: Athom Horus of the horizon (Harmachis): homage to thee in all their voices: salutation to thee for thy mercy unto us: protestations to thee who hast created us.

13. Hail to thee say all creatures: salutation to thee from every land: to the height of heaven, to the breadth of the earth: to the depths of the sea: the gods adore thy majesty: the spirits thou hast created exalt (thee): rejoicing before the feet of their begetter: they cry out welcome to thee: father of the fathers of all the gods: who raises the heavens who fixes the earth.

14. Maker of beings, creator of existences: sovereign of life health and strength, chief of the gods: we worship thy spirit who alone (?) hast made us: we whom thou hast made (thank thee) that thou hast given us birth: we give to thee praises on account of thy mercy to us.

15. Hail to thee maker of all beings: lord of truth father of the gods: maker of men creator of beasts: lord of grains: making food for the beast of the field: Amen the beautiful bull: beloved in Aptu (Thebes): high crowned in the house of the obelisk (Heliopolis): twice turbaned in An: judge of combatants in the great hall: chief of the great cycle of the gods.

16. The ONE alone without peer: chief in Aptu: king over his cycle of gods: living in truth for ever: (lord) of the horizon, Horus of the East: he who hath created the soil (with) silver and gold: the precious lapis lazuli at his pleasure: spices and incense various for the peoples: fresh odours for thy nostrils: benignly come to the nations: Amen-Ra lord of the thrones of the earth: chief in Aptu: the sovereign on his throne(?).
17. King alone, single(?) among the gods: of many names, unknown is their number: rising in the eastern horizon setting in the western horizon: overthrowing his enemies: dawning on (his) children daily and every day: Thoth raises his eyes: he delights himself with his blessings: the gods rejoice in his goodness who exalts those who are lowly(?): lord of the boat and the barge: they conduct thee through the firmament in peace.
18. Thy servants rejoice: beholding the overthrow of the wicked: his limbs pierced with the sword(?): fire consumes him: his soul and body are annihilated.
19. Naka (the serpent) saves his feet (?): the gods rejoice: the servants of the Sun are in peace: An (Heliopolis) is joyful: the enemies of Athom are overthrown and Aptu is in peace, An is joyful: the giver of life is pleased: at the overthrow of the enemies of her lord: the gods of Kher-sa make salutations: they of the Adytum prostrate themselves.
20. They behold the mighty one in his strength: the image of the gods of truth the lord of Aptu: in thy name of doer of justice: lord of sacrifices, the bull of offerings: in thy name of Amen the Bull of his mother: maker of men: causing all things which are to exist: in thy name of Athom Chepra (creator): the great Hawk making (each) body to rejoice: benignly making (each) breast to rejoice: type of creators high crowned: . . . (lord) of the wing: Uati (the diadem) is on his forehead: the hearts of men seek him: when he appears to mortals: he rejoices the earth with his goings forth: Hail to thee Amen-Ra lord of the thrones of the world: beloved of his city when he shines forth.

Finished well, as it was found (*in the original*).

NOTES TO BOULAQ PAPYRUS, No. 17.

Page 1, line 2. "giving life to all animated things." The word means originally "warmth"; whence it has the secondary sense of refreshment or encouragement. Thus in 1 Anast. $\frac{17}{2}$ "thou givest refreshment (or encouragement) to the labourers." Here, however, the word must have a different meaning, namely, that which is nourished or has animal warmth. One cannot be far wrong in translating it "animated things."

Page 1, line 3. *Ka ma-t-ef*, "bull of his mother." This phrase, translated by Champollion and others "husband of his mother," probably means "valiant son of his mother." In line 5 we find the epithet "fair bull of the society of gods," which may mean "fair son of the gods." The same epithet is applied to Batau in the story of the Two Brothers.

Page 1, line 4. "the land of the Matau," It is not known exactly where the nation of the Matau was. These people were in early times introduced into Egypt as mercenaries, and their name became synonymous with soldiers, whence the Coptic ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ. In the papyrus 2 Sall. $\frac{2}{10}$, Amenemha I. says that he employed the Matau. In our papyrus the word seems used for foreigners or surrounding nations generally, and we may translate it "heathen."

Page 1, line 5. This phrase, which occurs again in p. 9, line 3, is difficult to explain, unless we give to *ma*, a very different meaning from that which it usually has, viz., like, equal. It appears rather to mean single, alone, without equal. The phrases with which it is coupled, viz. "alone in his

works," and "king alone," indicate this. It is possible that the word may be thus used in the mysterious passage in the Ritual, chap. 17, line 47, where the name of Ma or Mau (*i.e.*, the Cat) given to the Sun is thus explained:—"The Sun is called *Ma* (Cat) according to the saying of Sa (the genius of wisdom) *i.e.* He is unique (*ma*) amongst the things which he hath made, therefore his name shall be Mau (Cat)."

Page 1, line 7. "wood of life." The word *ankhu*, means flowers or garlands. But we must probably take the determinative of vegetation as belonging not to alone, but to the whole group "wood of life," which means a fruit-bearing tree, furnishing food to man. The phrase occurs again, p. 6, line 4.

Page 1, line 7. "begotten of Ptah." This accords with Manetho's account of the gods who first reigned over Egypt, Ptah or Hephæstus being the first, and after him Ra, the Sun, his son.

Page 2, line 2. We here have the expression *ma-kheru*, applied to the king Ra, ruler of both lands, and the ordinary translation "justified" is inapplicable. I refer to the excellent dissertation of the late M. Deveria, in the "Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes," Vol. I, p. 10, for the explanation of this word, which means truth-speaking, and thence persuasive and triumphant in argument or contest. In this sense the epithet is applicable to the Sun, the lord of light, the bringer to light of all obscure or doubtful things and exposer of all falsity. "Triumphant" is a good translation of this word.

Page 2, line 3. The word *ten*, is preserved in the Coptic ⲧⲱⲟⲛⲏ sustinere. It occurs again in our papyrus, p. 4, line 2. It would seem to mean here "to prosper, to forward, to support, maintain." In the translation I have adopted the word "support."

Page 2, line 4. and the great house of the Ancient, and the great house of Flame, appear to be merely mythological and symbolical names, and not to belong to any earthly localities. See Brugsch Geog. pp. 296, 297, and L. B. D., cap. 141, 20.

Page 2, line 5. *khenkhen*, has here an unusual determinative, either a dog or a jackall. The word occurs with its ordinary determinative in p. 10, line 3. The meaning is, according to Brugsch Lex., p. 1095, "to have access to." The determinative *dog*, seems to indicate the meaning "to follow like a dog."

Page 3, line 2. *men kar-ti.* The word *kar-ti* for horns, as the determinative indicates, is new to me.

Page 3, line 3. The word *kama-tuf* is unknown to me, but according to the context it should mean "he is crowned or invested with." The name of the diadem or robe is ami-ha, which means "belonging to the house." I do not recollect seeing the title elsewhere, but similar compounds with "belonging to," are very numerous.

Page 3, line 5. The word *maks*, determined by a stone or parallelogram-shaped object, is new to me, and perhaps means a breast-plate.

Page 3, line 7. "sending its dart to the roof of the firmament." The word translated "roof" is *skhap*, but the initial

appears to be a mistake, and the word is properly *khap*. It occurs in Leyden Papyrus 344 revers, p. 6, line 8. "she whose flame is in the vault of the firmament." The word corresponds to the Coptic ⲕⲉⲕⲡ, or ⲕⲏⲡⲉ camera, fornix. ⲕⲏⲡⲉ-ⲡ̄-ⲣⲱϥ is the palate or roof of the mouth. This explains the determinatives the tongue, and the figure with hand to mouth, which are added to *khap*. The primitive meaning is evidently "the palate." Cicero, de Natura Deorum, quotes from Ennius the expression "cœli palatum," for the vault of heaven. The word occurs again in our papyrus, p. 6, line 5, "the vault of heaven"; and in p. 9, line 7, we have the verb *skhap* to taste.

Page 4, line 3. "Thou hearest the supplication of him who is in misery." The word *nemhu* means "weak, poor, or low," With the causative prefix , it means to humiliate or oppress. In the present passage, it may mean self-abasement, and hence the humble entreaty of supplication. *butennu*, is a word of rather rare occurrence, and must mean torture or misery, L.B.D. 40, 3, "thou art punished in the place of torture," 2 Sall. 9/5 "Do thou love it (learning), (for it) wards off misery." In each of these cases the determinative is a different one. For the closely related word bandit, robber, see Brugsch Lex. p. 445.

Page 5, line 2. "The king, lord of the first day of the month, to whom the 6th and 7th days are sacred—" The sign which I transcribe is the hieratic form of the numeral nine, which here replaces the usual form , nine,

the expression the name of the first day of the month. See Brugsch, Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du Calendrier des anciens Egyptiens (Plate IV. A, 1). The name appears to mean the festival of the Paut or Ennead (of gods).

Page 5, line 3. . The words *au kar* are unintelligible to me, and the text is apparently faulty.

Page 5, line 7. The word means "to sink down with fatigue." See Brugsch Lex. p. 446. The meaning of the passage appears to be, "the cattle shrink from thy beams." In page 6, line 1, we have the causative form in the sense of "subdue." By a transposition, perhaps accidental, of the letters, it is written instead of .

Page 6, line 3. Frequent allusions are made in the texts to the production of created things from the eyes of Ra or of Horus. Noxious things were supposed to be produced from the eye of Set or Typhon.

Page 6, line 4. *menmen*, animals, cattle. In the papyrus this word is determined by five figures of beasts, the ox, the goat, the ass, the hog, and the sheep, the principal domesticated animals of the Egyptians.

Plate 6, line 5. . Perhaps we should read here for , which has no meaning, winged, or flying. The ideograph must be taken for *apt*, bird. Such an omission of the phonetics is very unusual in hieratic, and is probably an error of the copyist.

Page 6, line 7. . The word *kai*, determined by a bird, is of doubtful

meaning. determined by an angle of land, means a meadow or high land; and perhaps this meaning may belong to the word in this place, though we should rather expect some living thing to be mentioned.

Page 8, line 1. "adoration to thy spirit, thou who hast created us." The word *ma* is used in an unusual way here. See the note on p. 1, line 5. Perhaps here we might translate "thou who alone has created us."

Page 9, line 6. The word seems to be connected with (Brugsch Lex. p. 911), and may mean depression, or the state of being cast down. The lock of hair is determinative of the idea of grief, mourning.

Page 9, line 7. We have here the verbal form of the palate (see note to p. 3, line 7), with causative prefixed. The meaning may be to taste, "The sword tastes his limbs." Compare the use of the word *tep*, to taste, in such phrases as (3 Sall. $\frac{4}{8}$), "I will cause my hand to taste them."

Page 10, line 1. "His soul is consumed with his body." The word *ba*, soul, followed by , the symbol of mortality and destruction, is remarkable. The group is found in L.B.D. 17, 37, in Leyden Pap., $348\frac{2}{2}$, and in a passage from Description d'Egypte, V, 40, quoted by M. Brugsch, Lex. p. 1642. It also occurs *passim* in Berlin Pap. III. It expresses the mortal or destructible part of man's soul. The divine or immortal soul is expressed by with the determinative of deity. 2 Sharpe, Egyp. Insc. 76 M, 15, 21.

Page 10, line 6. [illegible] "Lord of food, bull of offerings." The word *ka* "bull," is here (see note on p. 1, line 3) used in a very indefinite sense. "Bull of offerings" means only "he to whom offerings are made." *Ka*, bull, is here in parallelism with [illegible] *neb*, lord, and is used exactly in the same way; the phrase "lord of food" meaning nothing more than "he who is fed." The Hebraist will remember such expressions as בַּעַל כָּנָף lord of the wing, *i.e.* winged, בַּעַל קְרָנַיִם lord of the horns, *i.e.* horned, and a variety of others. The Egyptians used [illegible] *neb*, lord, precisely similarly, and a considerable number of such phrases could be produced. It is worthy of remark that in many inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman times [illegible] is used to express the sound *neb*, not however in its sense of "lord," but in the adjective sense, *all*.

NOTES FROM BORNEO, ILLUSTRATIVE OF PASSAGES IN GENESIS.

By Alex. Mackenzie Cameron.

Read 2nd December, 1873.

It is very interesting to come upon remains and ruins, traditions, names and peculiarities, which confirm Biblical accounts, especially those earlier records which are to be found in the Book of Genesis. These accounts are dear to us, not only as being furnished in the volume which has been called "the charter of our salvation"; but also as being the only reliable historical notice of pre-historic times, and which once lost, would plunge us into the most impenetrable darkness regarding the early history of our race. It is, thus, a two-fold pleasure we experience when the accounts of the first Book of Moses are confirmed to us by the researches of patient and learned scholars, and the discoveries of fortunate travellers.

I am fortunately enabled to add a few stones to the great building of independent, undoubted, and concurrent testimony to the history of the Book of Genesis, the testimony coming from the far-off, isolated, and semi-barbarous Island of Borneo.

It cannot be my intention here to go into a physical or descriptive account[1] of this great island, twice the size of Great Britain, lying midway between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, or of the various interesting races who people it. But I have found two traditions there held by the Dyaks—supposed to be the aboriginal inhabitants—and a few other

[1] This has already been done by me in Cassell's *Illustrated Travels* for 1872 and 1873.

things, which are strangely confirmative of several very interesting and important particulars in the Book of Genesis.

The first tradition is one relating to a great Deluge, and relates what part the great ancestor of the Dyaks took in it. There was a great general inundation when the ancestors of the human family—of the Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks—apparently dwelt together. The three had to swim for their lives, and all three came safe to land again. A story here appears to be foisted on to the original account. The Dyak, it is stated, took most care of his weapons of warfare; while the Chinaman took care of his books. Hence the former lost the art of letters; whilst the latter lost the art of fighting.

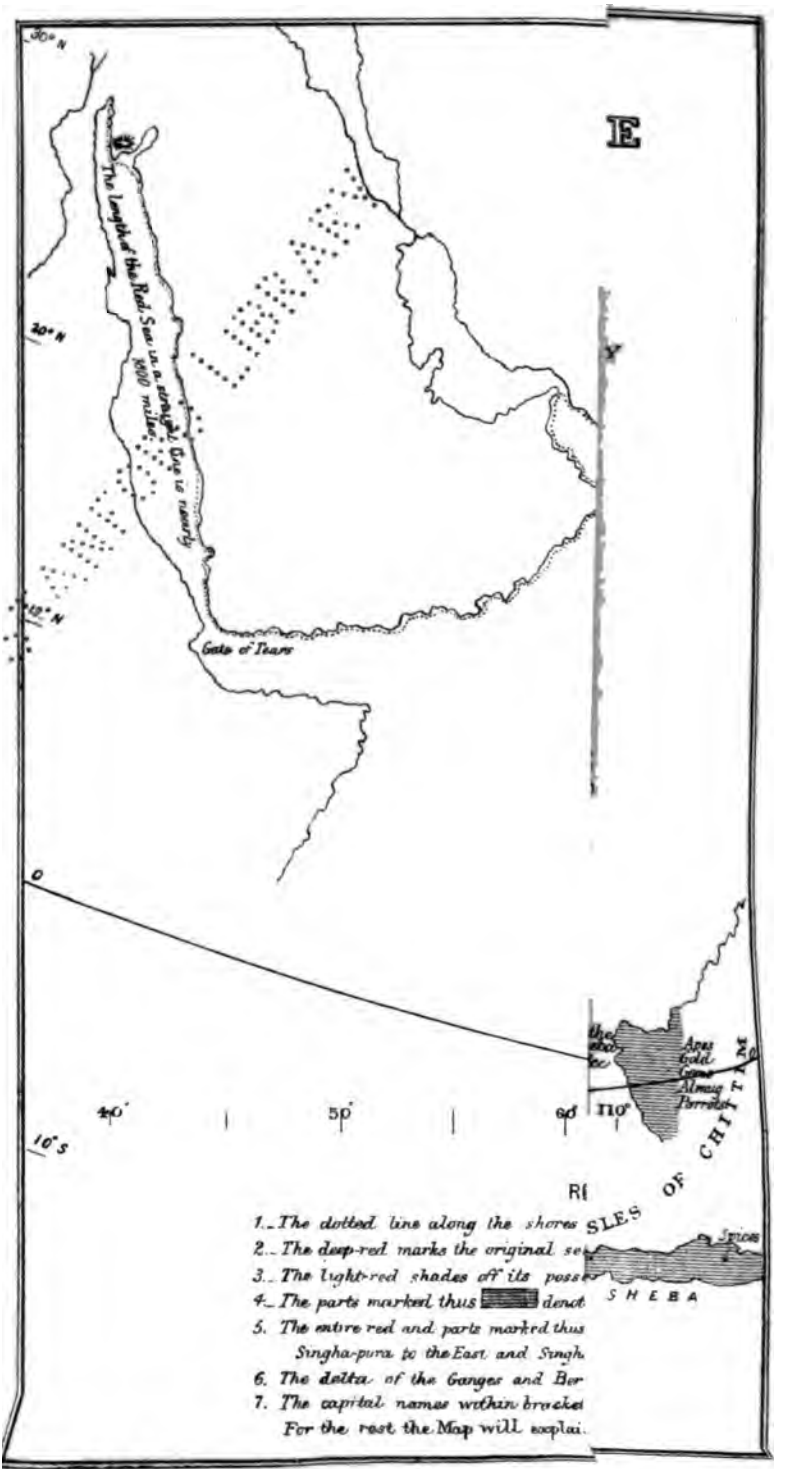
The second tradition tells us that, at a very early period of Dyak history, a great ancestor of the Dyaks determined to construct a ladder by which he could climb up to heaven. It is stated that he went on with his work, and got up pretty high, when suddenly one night a worm eat into the foot of the ladder, and brought it all down.

Here, then, we have two undoubted, original, and independent confirmations of the Bible accounts of the great Deluge and the Tower of Babel.

The third fact I have to furnish from Dyak-land for the service of Biblical Archæology is a most curious and remarkable one. One of the only two names for the Supreme Being among the Dyaks is YAOUAH. This is remarkable, as isolated from the current of the world's knowledge, not getting the name even from the later Chinese or Malay mariners, these Dyaks should still have the same *historical* name of the Supreme Being, that, according to the results of modern criticism, was one of the two earliest names of Deity even before the Deluge. The form of the name, too, comes nearest to what modern critics have determined for what we read as JEHOVAH in our Bibles. Can it, then, be possible that the worship of JEHOVAH by our early progenitors was a myth invented by Moses or subsequent writers? Rather, do we not find here one more testimony added to that of many others, that God was actually worshipped at the earliest periods of human history as YAHVEH? Of His knowledge and worship, thus, there is an unbroken con-

tinuity from the time that men "began to call themselves Jehovites" down to the present; and this is most consolatory.

Lastly, I would state together five other facts from Dyakland, which confirm statements and inferences of the Book of Genesis, and which serve equally with the traditions and name of God mentioned above, to refer the Dyaks themselves to the very highest antiquity. They believe in one great and good Almighty Spirit—the Supreme Being; and also in a powerful and malignant Evil Spirit. The worship of the Dyaks is carried on without temples, or a peculiar priestly class. And there is no idolatry. The statements of the Book of Genesis, and what we may infer from them, show us the worship of JEHOVAH carried on without the agency of a peculiar priestly class, and without temples; while the memory of the "old serpent"—the Devil—must still have remained fresh. There were no "idols," till we come to the very late period of the history of the immediate progenitors of the Hebrews; and then we may say we begin at once with the initial processes of idols, temples, &c., in the sacred teraphim, groves, &c.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THE IDENTITY OF OPHIR AND TAPROBANE, AND THEIR SITE INDICATED.

By Alex. Mackenzie Cameron.

Read 6th May, 1873.

In determining the site of Taprobane, we have to notice that there are two distinct periods in which it is mentioned; and a third period when the site, with the name itself, have utterly vanished. With this third period it is clear we have no concern. The first period is that of the early and ancient writers from the time of Alexander the Great to that of the Emperor Claudius. It embraces notices from Onesicritus, Megasthenes, and Pliny. They all use no other name than that of *Taprobane*. They furnish every possible detail regarding it. They had themselves either seen it, or lived near it, or conversed with its inhabitants. This period we may term the period of certain and personal knowledge.

The second period embraces the time from Ptolemy to that of Cosmas Indico-pleustes, late on into the Christian era. The former, referring to Taprobane, states that its name had been altered to *Salike;* the latter, who lived *many centuries after*, takes especial care several times to impress it on his readers that the island called Sielendib by the Indians (Ceylon) was the Taprobane of the earlier Greeks. Ptolemy adduces no trustworthy authority (he wrote from mere hearsay), and furnishes no facts to prove that Salike—supposed to be the same as Sielendib—had before been called Taprobane. On the contrary, we know from earlier Hindu history that Salike, Sielendib, or Ceylon emerged first into notice as *Lanka*, or *Sinhala-dwipa*, and these are the

names it has ever since borne. In the time of Cosmas the name itself had vanished!

It is to the *first* period—the period of certainty, precision, and personal knowledge—that we have to restrict ourselves; and we shall find it amply to satisfy every requirement.

The writers of this period who speak of Taprobane are Onesicritus, Eratosthenes, Megasthenes, Hipparchus, Strabo, and Pliny. Onesicritus states that Taprobane was 5,000 *stadia* in length. This is confirmed by the rest;[1] but Pliny learned from his informants, natives of the country itself, who were ambassadors to the Roman Empire, that the land was considerably greater, the breadth alone from west to east being 10,000 *stadia*. We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of either statement, as between the time of Alexander the Great and Claudius there is an interval of several centuries, and the tendency of maritime states is always to enlarge their borders, *e.g.*, early Greece, Tyre and Carthage, Holland, England, &c. Indeed, these ambassadors made one statement of the country enjoying two summers and two winters, which clearly show that the empire then embraced countries on both sides of the equator. These ambassadors further stated that the monarchy was *elective*, and that in the seas about Taprobane there were cetaceous and other monsters. Megasthenes was the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator to the court of the king of the Prachii, a country which embraced the north-western portion of modern Bengal, and the capital of which was Palibothra, which has been identified by Sir William Jones and other competent scholars as the modern Patna. Megasthenes describes Taprobane as divided into two parts by a river, one of them being infested by tigers and elephants, and the other inhabited by Prachii colonists, and producing gold and gems. Strabo mentions the boats being peculiarly constructed, and is confirmed in this by Pliny. The name of "ballams" is given to these boats.

The last writer gathered many details from the ambassadors. Taprobane contained 500 towns and villages, and

[1] Strabo, lib. ii, c. i and iv; lib. v. Pliny, lib. xxii, c. ii, xxiv, liii.

the capital had a large population of 200,000 souls. There was a lake in the country from which one river ran by the capital, and the other northwards towards India. There were corals, pearls, and precious stones; the soil was fruitful; life was prolonged to more than a hundred years; there was a trade with China *overland*, "the country of the Seres being visible beyond the Himalaya Mountains." The mode of trade and barter among the inhabitants themselves was peculiar, being done at night. The country and people were maritime and highly commercial. Finally, we may note that opinion was divided whether Taprobane was an island or a peninsula.

We have thus facts enough of every kind to guide us. The site is clearly indicated as somewhere between the Bay of Bengal and the Himalaya Mountains, but separated from the Prachii country, and carrying on an overland trade with the country of the Seres. The monarchy was elective. It was a large maritime state, owning sovereignty over countries on both sides of the equator. The natural features of the country, as well as its productions, are enumerated; and there are particular *data* furnished regarding the great age of the inhabitants and the peculiar construction of the boats. The name is Taprobane.

Between the Bay of Bengal and the Himalayas, separated from the province of Western Bengal or the early Prachii country, and communicating overland with China or the Seres country, there will be found, on an accurate and enlarged map of those parts, a province or state named *Tippera* or *Teppora*, to the east of the modern mouth of the Ganges, but inland and not opening out on the Bay of Bengal. This is the ancient Taprobane. Let us see how this obscure, small, inland state fully satisfies every one of the numerous particulars we have gathered from the early Greek and Roman writers.

1. *The name itself: Taprobane.*—Were an intelligent native about the mouth of the Ganges asked at the present day where lay the Tepraban country, he would at once recognise the name and indicate its direction. The country is generally, in common parlance, shortened into Tepra or

Tepora,[1] or rather the *ban* final is added only for description's sake. The final *ban* or *van* is a common suffix in Indian topographical nomenclature. Thus we have Bindraban, Mahaban, Chitraban, Soonderban, &c. The country has never had any other name than this one.

2. *It was a large and extensive kingdom.*—The state as it exists at present is only a small principality; but from the annals of the kingdom[2] we learn that it extended in old times both westward of its present limits up to the Gangetic delta, and southward down to the Bay of Bengal, and still further south-east indefinitely, including the modern parts of Chittagong and Arrakan.

3. *It was a highly commercial and maritime state, near the Bay of Bengal.*—As will have been seen, it was at the head of the Bay of Bengal, extending down far south; and, further, this was *the only* maritime state in or near the Bay of Bengal. It had a considerable traffic by sea with countries as distant as China, and the last remains of this sea-going trade may have been seen a quarter of a century ago, when Chinese junks ascended up the mouth of the Ganges and anchored off the inland port of Narain-gunge (= *mart of Neptune*, or mart by the sea[3]), a port which, from its name, probably occupies its old site as one of the

[1] Pliny says that the ambassadors who arrived at Rome from Taprobane were sent in consequence of a Roman vessel having touched at *Hippuros*, which is the very sound of Ophir, or Tepera without the affix *t*, about which see lower down.

[2] See its native annals, a translation of which is in the possession of Dr. T. A. Wise, M.D., &c., and who very kindly let the writer have a sight of it. It was owing to a suggestion from this gentleman that the writer took up the investigation of the site of Taprobane.

[3] This mart is *still* the centre of the traffic of all Eastern Bengal, Tepera, and parts north towards Eastern and Southern Assam and Northern Burmah. The great Baroni (=Varuni=*monsoon*) Mela or Fair, one held at the commencement and the other at the close of the south-west (*traffic*) Indian Ocean *monsoon*, on a spot not far from this *sea mart*, is a remnant of very early times. At this great fair, traders from all parts of India and Southern Asia (including Arab, Turkish, Persian, Burmese, and Chinese merchants) may be seen for more than a month engaged in busily buying and selling their wares, and the scene probably presents (under British sanitary regulations) the same sights now that it did to the early Hebrew, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Greek mariners. There is no other such mart in all the Indian Ocean. The boats about here, sewn with cordage or rattans, are also called "ballams."

seaport towns of the ancient kingdom. The sea-going trade may also be seen from the *native* traffic yet carried on (quite an unusual thing in Asia) between the other seaport towns of the ancient state—such as Chittagong (= Sât-gaon = 60 villages or townships) and Akyab with the East Indian Archipelago and China; and in accordance with what we have stated, and what we may expect to find in a maritime people and state, it is singular that down even to the time of the Mahomedan rulers of India, land tenures and other state emoluments were held in these parts on *conditions of maritime service.* Even at the present day the great majority of Indian mariners (lascars) are drawn from these very parts, and even ships are turned off the stocks at Chittagong. There cannot thus be a shadow of doubt as to the site of the ancient maritime state which lay between the Bay of Bengal and the Himalayas, separated from the Prachii country, and carrying on an overland trade with the country of the Seres, about which we shall see more as we proceed.

4. *It lay near the Prachii country, and was colonised thence.* —That it is situated near that country will be evident at a glance on the map, and hence, too, probably Megasthenes could learn of it at Palibothra. Some accounts gave it as seven days' sail from the shores of India, and this would correspond with the distance of Tepera from the kingdom of Palibothra, the intermediate Gangetic delta being ocean. That this delta, several hundred miles in length and breadth, was within historic times covered by ocean, is conclusively demonstrated not only by its alluvial recent formation and the usual action of the current of large and powerful rivers, but from the remarkable circumstance that two towns, now situate hundreds of miles inland, one to the east of the delta, and the other to its west, are respectively named Narain-gunge and Naba-dwipa, the former literally signifying *the mart by the sea*, the latter *new island.* Still further, in another part, not far from the former of these places, off the extremely ancient city of Dacca, which carried on a traffic with the early Roman Empire,[1] we have a name

[1] See Dr. J. Taylor's Topography of Dacca, a rare and valuable work.

applied to a reach of its river, which is most significant. It is *Sachi-bunder* (= *the true port*). The word, or suffix, *bunder* is applied in India *only to seaports*. Thus we have Kurrachi-bunder = the seaport of Kurrachi, Machli-bunder = the seaport of Masulipatam. Thus, geology and philology both contribute to show that the ancient maritime state of Tepera was separated from India by the sea. It must also be remarked that this is the very part of the Bay of Bengal which is most subject to the action of terrific typhoons, and is the north-western termination of the chain of volcanic action which embraces the entire East Indian Archipelago. These causes alone would explain much of the alterations of land and sea. A typhoon in these parts only recently has been known to destroy and submerge a wide district by one immense sea-wave; while it is not many years since that an earthquake in Cachar, to the north of Tepera, entirely altered the character of the district.

That Tepera was colonised from the Prachii country we have the following concurrent threefold testimony:—The first is the records of the state itself, which show that the first king named *Teppor* came from the west. The second is the language, which is a near relative of the Sanscrit. The third is the large intermixture of the Hindu element in the population. The last two are undoubted, and we can scarcely imagine that the pushing Aryans, who spread all over India and north-west as far as Great Britain and the isles of the Atlantic, should have stopped short at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Indeed, from Tepera they passed on to Java and the ends of the East Indian Archipelago.

5. *It had an elective monarchy.*—Now, this is a very remarkable statement for an Indian country, where absolute monarchy is the rule; and it is still more remarkable that Tepera presents *the exception*—an exception, however, in such a way as to unite the elective element with the hereditary in an indirect form. The heir-apparent of Tepera is not the reigning sovereign's eldest son. There is a *formal and ceremonial election* of the eldest in a collateral line; and even if this step has not been taken, or becomes void by death of the holder of the elective title, the eldest son has

no legal right;[1] and we can explain the reason of this setting aside of the natural-born heir and the election of the heir-apparent. The custom points to the time when the Prachii first, by force or fraud, gained the domination of the Tepera state. The custom among the wild tribes to the north and east and south of Tepera is to *elect* their chief. Tepera is the suzerain to which many of these tribes own allegiance, and the extent of its dominion over these wild tribes has never been actually defined. It would appear that when the Prachii colonised the country the inhabitants and tribes of Tepera were powerful enough to make them bow to and accept the elective element in the monarchy,[2] and yet, with Aryan instinct, the hereditary element was, after a fashion, preserved when the heir-apparent was selected from the eldest in a collateral line. At all events, the first two or three elections were made thus, to which no objection could well be made; and these furnished the rule and precedent which was continued, the institution being harmonised as far as possible with the requirements of Hindu law.

6. *It enjoyed two summers and two winters.*—Now, this must have been quite a remarkable statement; but we can perceive its literal correctness. At the time of this embassy the maritime state had evidently extended its arms and colonies to south of the equator. For proof of this we can adduce the following:—We know that Java was colonised and held by a Sanscrit-speaking race. This race must have been necessarily maritime, and also necessarily the state of Tepera or Taprobane, there being no other maritime Hindu state.[3]

[1] For these facts relating to the election, see a pamphlet called *The Great Tippera Succession Case*, in MS., in the possession of the writer, and based on records of the High Court, Calcutta, and the Privy Council.

[2] The same *elective* form, though in the natural line, has been imposed on their Hindu chiefs by other wild tribes in Orissa.

[3] Favourably situated at the head and eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, with the usual tendency of a maritime state, it would have pushed its arms southwards towards the rich islands of the Archipelago. That it included even the Island of Ceylon and the adjacent mainland territory of Travancore on the west there is every reason to believe. Ceylon is known to have been colonised by Prachii colonists from the head of the Bay of Bengal. Besides, it is a remarkable circumstance that Ceylon should have had the name of *Sinhala-dwipa*

What we have already stated is confirmed by the accounts of later Arab geographers,[1] who mention the existence of a great maritime empire which included Java and portions of continental India (thus confirming our view of the union of Travancore with Taprobane), and which was ruled over by a Maharajah, the usual title of a Hindu sovereign.

7. *The lake with two rivers.*—We have already shown how vast have been the alterations in the surface and aspect of several hundred miles of country at the head of the Bay of Bengal, and if the ocean itself has disappeared, it is not strange that the lake itself cannot now be seen; but we have the two rivers, one flowing by Comella and Agourtolla (= ancient capital), and the other northward, which we take to be the former eastern mouth of the Berhampooter. It is remarkable, too, that both these rivers debouch into what is at present an inland sea-like portion of the mouth of the Ganges called the *Megna*, which, though not *Megisva*, the

=the Island of Lions, when there never has been an animal of that description there. But the ancient royal seal of the state of Tepera has *the figure of a lion on it.* Hence, therefore, it was not only colonised, but in all likelihood got its name; and we see, too, here, the reason of *Sinhala-dwipa* having been sometimes confounded with Taprobane. It formed one of its colonies or dependencies, the nearest to the western world of Greeks and Egyptians, and thence came in later times of mere hearsay to be taken for the original state itself. If a still further very noticeable, though slight, circumstance be taken into consideration, we shall be yet more confirmed in this view of the maritime connection of Tepera with Ceylon. In this island there exists down to the present day the same peculiarly constructed boats, with the same *sewing up* of planks with cordage, that we find in use at the various ports of the Tepera kingdom, and called by the same identical name, *ballam.* We have also referred to Travancore on the mainland being included in the maritime dominions of Tepera. We have not here such abundance of proof as in the case of Ceylon, but the inference that a powerful maritime kingdom, which had colonised and seized Ceylon, should also seek a footing on the mainland in the rich neighbouring province of Travancore, is legitimate; and this view is borne out by the name itself. This consists of two parts, *Travan* and *core*, the latter being the same word found in Kurrachi, Coringa, Coromandel, and others, and supposed to signify *a mart or people of trade;* while the former portion is but slightly disguised from Taprobane, the entire word signifying very probably as we should express it:—"The trading factory of Taprobane." And we may note that the same kind of boats, and called *ballams*, are in use on the Malabar coast.

[1] Journal Asiatic Society, vol. xlix, p. 206.

name assigned to the lake, contains a principal element in common to both. The two rivers are there, on one of which the ancient capital is situated, but the lake has disappeared, or been incorporated with the mouth of the Ganges, where it is called Megna.[1]

8. *A river divided the country into two sections, one wild, and the other settled and inhabited.*—This will be clearly seen by a glance at the map. It is remarkable that the river of Comella divides the Tepera state into two sections, one of which is wild and densely covered with forest, while the other is cultivated and settled, and includes its most valuable ancient seaports and towns.

9. *The country infested with tigers and elephants.*—With reference to the former animal we have only to state that here is the *home* of the royal Bengal tiger; and with reference to elephants, nowhere else in Asia are these animals so largely developed and so numerous. For hundreds of miles eastward of the Gangetic delta we may describe the country as the *home* of the Asiatic elephant.

10. *Life prolonged to above a hundred years.*—Even at the present day, in our ignorance of facts, we would be inclined to suspect that the ambassadors from Taprobane attempted to impose on Roman credulity. But even in this most unlikely particular we find the statement strictly and undeniably correct. The statement is one that is probably true of no other country in the world than what lay within the early Tepera state. It is very remarkable that there are tribes there, at the present day, to the south-east, many of the individuals of which generally live *over a hundred years.* This is so remarkable as to have been noticed by the only writer who has as yet been in those parts, and it is published in an official statement by him—a responsible officer of the Indian Government, specially appointed to maintain relations with those tribes.[2] This fact, like several

[1] As we have stated, owing to the great alterations in the surface of the land and sea, no certainty can possibly be arrived at on this point.

[2] See Captain Lewin's Hill Tribes of Chittagong, which appeared first as an official report, but which has since been made available to the public in a separate form, slightly altered, we believe.

others we have mentioned previously, has only very recently come to light.

12. *There was an overland trade with the country of the Seres.*—There has been an overland trade with China and these parts from very ancient times, one due north across the Himalayas into Thibet, which we take to have been the one referred to; and the other due east by way of North Burmah, where the route is still used as far as the Burmese capital. The demand for silk stuffs by the ancient Roman dames was probably largely supplied by this Taprobane route. From Tepera and its great marts the silks of China and the muslin fabrics of Dacca were dispersed over India generally, and the West. Even if we assume that Egypt, Rome, Greece, Syria, and Persia were entirely supplied by overland caravans all the way from China to Persia, which is not quite likely, we have still the great demand of the vast Indian continent to be met, which could only have been by way of Taprobane.

13. *The Himalaya Mountains lay contiguous.*—The words used by the ambassadors are such as to imply that the Himalayas were actually visible; and from the northern parts of Tepera, say from the Jynteeah Hills, the snowy range of the Himalayas can be distinctly seen in all its towering majesty and glory stretching across the horizon.

14. *The peculiar custom of trade and barter.*—This custom of the Hill Tribes coming in suddenly with their wares, and decamping as suddenly either at night or early before break of day, is one which is still preserved among these tribes, "Akkos" and "Nagas," names still borne, and hence probably transplanted to Ceylon.[1]

15. *There were cetaceous and other marine monsters in the seas.*—Porpoises, large turtles, and sharks, with whales towards the south, abound in the Bay of Bengal.

16. *The country had a great many towns and villages.*—We have already noted the existence of large seaport towns, as Dacca, Narain-gunge, Chittagong, and Akyab. Besides these there is Agour-tollah, the ancient capital. Further, we may name Sonar-gaon (= the City of Gold), and

[1] See *Mahawanso*, c. i, 7. *Rajavali*, p. 169.

Manipur (= the City of Gems). All these were first-class cities or towns, and they are a great many within such a comparatively small area, showing the extreme wealth and settlement of the country.[1] One of these, Chittagong, is literally Sât-gaon = Sixty townships or villages, reminding us of the words of the ambassadors, "five hundred towns and villages."

17. *The soil was fruitful.*—The cultivated plains of Tepera and south-eastern Bengal still form the granary of Bengal, a country which, at the last census, is reckoned to contain nearly seventy millions of inhabitants.

18. *Among the natural productions are enumerated gold, gems, corals, and pearls.*—Gold is still washed out of places in the ancient kingdom. The name of a great city situated in the ancient kingdom, which was historically noticed till within only a few centuries back, is Sonar-gaon = the City of Gold, a very remarkable title, not, we believe, to be paralleled anywhere else. We shall notice this city again in connection with Ophir. We have also incidentally noticed the name of a city in these regions as Manipur = the City of Gems: and if the dominion of this powerful ancient state extended over the northern portions of modern Burmah, as appears in every way probable, the provinces there are rich in gems. We have already shown that probably the state extended down far south, including Ceylon and Java; and the isles of the Archipelago are rich in corals and auriferous ore, while Ceylon boasts of pearls and also gems. But in the rivers near Narain-gunge, which, as we have shown, were once the bed of the sea, there yet are fished up pearls of a *pinkish* variety, the very kind which the Roman dames most affected.

We have thus brought to an end our description of this remarkable ancient maritime state of Tepera or Taprobane, and abundantly and fully shown how that every detail and statement made regarding it, even the most singular

[1] The early Portugese navigators describe another great city of trade, and full of riches, at the mouth of the Ganges, on the Tepera or eastern side; but the very site of it is now unknown. The alterations of sea and land here have been great, and going on for ages.

and curious, and on first view either exaggerated, absurd, or impossible, fits here, and here alone. We have the very name, the very site, the very maritime condition of the country and population, the very boats, the very elective monarchy, the very wild land and marine animals, the very customs, the very extent, the very topographical features, the very productions, the overland trade with China, the two summers and winters, and the very extraordinary prolongation of life. Nowhere else[1] do we find even half of these, much less all together. Even the confusion of Ceylon being taken in later ages for Taprobane, the dim allusions to a great inter-oceanic and also continental empire, the *imposing* embassy to Rome, the singular name of Ceylon (Sinhala-dwipa = Island of Lions) are hereby explained. But what about the antiquity of this kingdom of Tepera? Its origin is lost in the dim remote traditions of Hindu mythology!

The sources of our knowledge regarding the site of *Ophir* are five: (1) The Hebrew Bible. (2) The Septuagint version of the same. (3) Josephus. (4) Coptic early lexicographers. (5) Linguistic, from the names of the productions stated to have been brought from Ophir. The four last sources, as we may expect, confirm the first; so that they are all unanimous—they all point to somewhere in or beyond India.

We take, first, the *Linguistic evidence.*—This is contained in the Bible itself. The words used for the several productions have been identified as Sanscrit. Just as the Chaldean words imbedded in the Book of Daniel clearly point to a contact with Babylon; so these Sanscrit words clearly point out the contact with a Sanscrit-speaking people. These may not necessarily have been in the bounds of the India of the present day, for, as we have seen previously, Prachii colonists peopled Taprobane. It could not have been in Java, for, as will be seen when we treat of Sheba, Java was not Ophir, though the boundaries of the two maritime and insular empires must have interlaced each

[1] We need hardly say that Sir J. Emerson Tennant's Ceylon does not fulfil many of the most direct and essential conditions, nor indeed any other land save Tepera.

other. We reserve the philological argument derived from the name of Tepra or Tepora (as well as several other remarkable names) for its proper place, when we come to see how Tepora or Taprobane satisfies all the details regarding Ophir.

Secondly, *early Coptic lexicographers.*—These have coqip (Sophir) as the name for India. This is only in accordance with the facts furnished by the preceding evidence.

Thirdly, *Josephus.*—He was a man of the highest culture, and united in himself both Greek and Hebrew learning. In a casual and incidental way he states that the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the Greeks was the Ophir of the Hebrews. Now this fixes the locality of Ophir to the indefinite tract of country from the kingdom of Taprobane down south to the end of the Malayan Peninsula, where it touches on the boundary of Sheba or Java. In all this tract the only *Sanscrit*-speaking people have to be referred to *Taprobane*, which, as we have seen, was an extensive maritime country, and later on in its history, that is, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, had incorporated Sheba itself, south of the equator, within its maritime and insular territories. In all this tract, too, there is no record whatever of any other maritime state. There can be no doubt, too, that when the Greeks called that tract the *Golden Peninsula*, that it was and had been the great gold-exporting country of the ancient world.

Fourthly, *the Septuagint version.*—This has everywhere put *Σωφιρ*, *Σωφαρα*,[1] &c., for Ophir, confirming the Coptic lexicographers, and while furnishing a change of sound more nearly approaching Tepra or Tepora, throwing at the same time a light on Genesis x, 30: "Sephar a mount of the East."

Finally, we come to the *Bible itself*, and we quote every passage where the name of Ophir occurs:—"Ophir and Havilah ..... their dwelling was as thou goest unto Sephar a

[1] Here, too, we are reminded of the *Hippuros* of Pliny, referred to in a previous page. This is the very sound of Ophir, or T'üppĕra, and Pliny's account leads us to place it in *Taprobane*. This *Hippuros* was a sea-port or maritime country, as the Roman vessel touched there.

mount of the East."[1] With this read: "the land of Havilah,[2] where there is gold." "Then shalt thou lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks." (There is here a reference probably to the volcanic nature of the country, and the mode of gold-washing). "It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir." "Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen in gold of Ophir." (This was literally fulfilled to Solomon when the Queen of Sheba came.) "And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon." "And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones" (read also *algum* for *almug*). "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber." "Even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir." (This would amount to *sixteen and half millions of pounds sterling!*). "And they went with the servants of Solomon to Ophir, and took thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon." "Gold from Ophir, almug (or algum) trees, and precious stones." "The golden wedge of Ophir." (Here we may remark, that money was reckoned in bars of gold late into the Christian era in the Malayan Peninsula, and the *Kurus* is still the highest money-mint in the shape of a bar of gold in Tartary.) With these read also: "To him shall be given of the gold of Sheba." (This was also, as Psalm xlv, 9, fulfilled literally to Solomon.[3]) Still further, there is another set of references to *Tharshish*, which cannot be passed over, as the very words of Sanscrit origin are imbedded in them: "The king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks." "He joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tharshish: and

[1] Gen. x, 29, 30.

[2] Gen. ii, 11. This "*Havilah of the sons of Shem*," is to be distinguished from the "*Havilah of the sons of Ham*."

[3] Job xxii, 24; xxviii, 16. Psalm xlv, 9. 1 Kings ix, 28; x, 11; xxii, 48. 1 Chron. xxix, 4. 2 Chron. viii, 18; ix, 10. Isaiah xiii, 12. Psalm lxxii, 15.

they made the ships in Ezion-geber. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tharshish.[1] From the situation of the first of these references we might infer that Tharshish meant Ophir; but the second reference, compared with one already quoted above, makes it quite plain, for it is there stated that the ships which were broken at Ezion-geber were made to go to Ophir for gold. Here, then we have Ophir, Tharshish, and Sheba, the two first of which are interchangeable, and the last lay near one or other or both. The more, therefore, that we can know about Tharshish and Sheba, the nearer shall we get to Ophir itself. The testimony we have of these is in a very circuitous and undesigned way, and thus the more valuable.

First, as to *Tharshish.* In Gen. x, 4 and 5, Tharshish is mentioned along with Kittim, and placed in "the isles of the Gentiles." It will be remarked that the names in this chapter, wherever we can identify them, follow in regular order, and we may legitimately infer that all the names are in regular sequence. In Psalm lxxii, 10, "the kings of Tharshish and of the isles" are joined together. In Ezek. xxvii, 6, we have *ivory* mentioned as the product of "the isles of Chittim." Lower down, in the same chapter and the 12th verse, we have the products of Tharshish enumerated as "silver, iron, tin, and lead." Next, as to *Sheba.* In the same valuable chapter, and the 22nd verse, we have the productions of Sheba mentioned, "*chief of all spices*, all precious stones, and gold." We need not to quote much more of Sheba than refer to 1 Kings ix, 26; x, 13 (parallel to which is 2 Chron. viii, 17; ix, 12), where the account begins with Ophir—the Queen of Sheba's hearing of Solomon's fame and her visit to him follow; then the narrative reverts to Ophir, and the account is wound up once more with the departure of the Queen of Sheba. The argument here to the effect that Sheba lay near Ophir is incontrovertible. The story of the Queen of Sheba's arrival is incorporated into the story of the departure and return of the fleet to and from Ophir. The Queen is stated to have

[1] 1 Kings x, 22. 2 Chron. ix, 21; xx, 36, 37. Compare this last with 1 Kings xxii, 48.

brought with her gold and precious stones, and a "very great store" of spices; "there came no more such abundance of spices as these."

Now, we learn from all these (1) that Havilah, Chittim, "the Isles of the Sea," and Sheba, lay contiguous to Ophir or Tharshish; (2) that the voyage occupied three years out and in; (3) that the fleet found a Sanscrit-speaking people; (4) that the productions of Ophir were gold and silver and precious stones, and almug trees and ivory, and apes and peacocks; and if we reckon Tharshish also as Ophir, we have, further, *tin*, iron, and lead; (5) the name of the country was Ophir. Let us see where all these lead us to, and if it is confirmed by the other authorities besides the Bible. It will be a remarkable result if all these lead us to Taprobane, and only to it.

1. *Ophir was contiguous to Havilah, Chittim, the Islands, and Sheba.*—As to *Havilah* we can only form a good conjecture. Finding Ophir from the other sources, we have to place Havilah near it, and it must be a country producing gold and precious stones and intersected by a large river. As will be seen from the map, we have placed it on the modern kingdom of *Ava*, contiguous to Chittim, Tharshish, Sheba, the Isles of the Sea, and Ophir; intersected by the mighty river Irrawaddy, and producing gold and gems in abundance. *Chittim* is the same as China, the Cathay of Milton and mediæval travellers, and includes the country to the north of Ophir and Havilah, and to the east of this last. The great Archipelago was referred to Chittim in early times just as we now refer them to India, the truth being that it lies midway of the two. *The Isles of the Sea.*—These are evident from their contiguity to Chittim, to which they were often referred, and to Tharshish. In a general sense they are the great Archipelago. From these we are informed, by Ezekiel, *ivory* was largely brought to the marts of Western Asia and the Mediterranean. We have no traces of elephants or ivory on any of the Archipelago islands save *Sumatra*, which has long abundantly supplied ivory to the world, and, as we have shown before, was included in part or whole within the ancient possessions of Taprobane. *Sheba.*—This also lay

contiguous to Tharshish. Its productions are specified to be gold, precious stones, and spices, especially these last. We know well the Spice Islands next to Java. Here is the great spice-producing and spice-exporting country of the whole world. Gold and gems are also to be found in abundance on most of the islands of the Archipelago. Borneo is rich in diamonds and other precious stones, while the entire Archipelago is highly auriferous. Now the only island of this entire continental group, which is densely peopled, which has long possessed a settled and stable government, and which has numerous remains of an ancient civilisation, is Java; and that this is Sheba is confirmed by the early mode of pronouncing the name which is *Sâbâ*. That it was independent of Ophir at the time of Solomon is confirmed by the narrative in the Bible, though, both being maritime insular empires, their territories ran in and out of each other, and hence the Queen's hearing of Solomon while the fleet went to Ophir. At a later period, however, from the statement of the ambassadors which we have already examined, and from the remains of the Sanscrit language and Hindu religion in Java, the northern state seems to have taken possession of its southern neighbour. At a still later period, when the power of Taprobane began to decline, Saba again became independent, to fall subsequently into the hands of the Malays (Moslems), and then to the Dutch. The "Netherlands India" of the present day probably accurately represents the earlier dominion of Sheba or Saba. By means of it alone the Dutch continue a European power. From the Island of Java alone a revenue of 16,000,000*l.* is raised annually.[1] Contiguous to all these "Isles of the Sea," Chittim and Sheba, we have only the ancient country of Tepra or Tepora, or Taprobane. As we proceed we shall see still further how it alone satisfies all the conditions required.

2. *The Voyage of three years.*—For the distance of Tepra from Palestine, remembering the ancient mode of slow coasting, and the Eastern mode of stoppages at ports, and the additional sea that lay between Palibothra and Taprobane, and the numerous sea-ports of the kingdom with its

[1] See Money's Account of Java.

numerous insular possessions, the voyage of three years just satisfies the demand. The length of coast line to and from Ezion-geber and the extreme point of Ophir or Tharshish next to Sheba, was more than 20,000 miles, and there were nearly a dozen ports, if not more, at which stoppages of a week or a fortnight must have been made for purposes of rest, refitting, trade, and provisions.

3. *A Sanscrit-speaking people.*—Now, we need hardly say that in the tract indicated from the head of the Bay of Bengal down south to Sheba, and contiguous to Tharshish and Chittim, the only maritime state was Tepra or Tepora, or Taprobane, colonised by the Sanscrit-speaking Prachii.

4. *The productions, as gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, almug or algum trees, apes, and peacocks.*—Now these bring us to just the same ancient Sanscrit-speaking, maritime state which lay near to Sheba and Chittim. Including the mention of Tharshish we have *tin*, iron, and lead; the second of which is generally diffused, and the third usually associated with *silver* in its natural state; but the first, or tin, is a quite distinct and peculiar metal. Tepera and Sumatra abound with *monkeys and apes*. So, too, as we have seen previously, they abound with *elephants and ivory*. *Peacocks and parrots* are largely and generally diffused from the base of the Himalayas north of Tepera to the furthest coasts of the Archipelago. Nearly all the parrots and parrokeets of the world are supplied hence. The largest *tin-producing* country in the world is also to be found here, the entire Malayan Peninsula, and beyond, to Sunda and Banca, being simply one great continuous tin-field. As this is a peculiar metal mentioned by Ezekiel in connection with Tharshish, we are compelled to assign this name to the southern portion of the ancient kingdom of Ophir, Tepra or Taprobane. The same conclusion is reached from the consideration of the article *silver*, which is also mentioned in connection with Tharshish, of which no mines are known to have existed to the north, while a large province in the Malayan Peninsula is called Perak, the native name for silver. There has been a controversy as to whether *almug* means coral or a species

of wood. We think there can be no hesitation in referring to it as wood. It is specially mentioned that they were "trees," that handles of harps, terraces, and props were made of it, and in 2 Chron. ii, 8, they are expressly described along with other timber as being brought from the forest. And the form *algum* supplies probably the true reading. In the Malayan forests we have the camphor wood,[1] a gummy tree, furnishing a splendid, fragrant and durable timber, streaked ornamentally light red, whence probably the name of almug and idea of coral arose and were associated with it. This is found in great abundance in the Archipelago, being one of the principal forest trees, and literally carries out the idea of "great plenty" mentioned regarding it in 1 Kings x, 11. From 2 Chron. ii, 8, it seems they were once to be found on the Libanus range, and probably in those early times they were found also in Tepra, but the large demand for them exhausted the supply near largely settled countries. We have already previously seen how the ancient state of Tepera included in it the finest *gem-producing* countries in the world in the parts north of modern Burmah. Even to the present day to the north-east of Tepra there lies the district (and city) of Manipur = *the Gem Country.* Finally, we arrive at the consideration of the article *Gold.* For this, it seems, Ophir was specially noted. Now, India has never been known to produce gold in any quantity, much less to export it. India has always taken what it could get from outside. For this production in particular we are restricted specially to the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, that is, the early state of Tepra or Taprobane, the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the Greeks and the Ophir of Josephus. The entire country from Tepra and North Burmah down to the Malayan Peninsula (and we might cross over to Sumatra and Borneo and continue the chain to Australia) is highly auriferous. It has been always the great gold-field of the old world; after three thousand years it still produces largely, and exports all it produces. Money was computed in these parts till almost within recent times by bars of gold[2]

[1] It does not furnish the camphor of commerce.

[2] Mention made by a Dutch traveller, some centuries since.

(Isaiah's "golden wedge of Ophir"); and we may now further note that one of the principal cities to the north-west of Tepra or Taprobane was called Sonargaon = *the City of Gold*, a very remarkable and expressive and distinctive name,[1] and peculiarly appropriate to the Ophir of Solomon.

5. Finally, the *Name itself.*—Here we may remark that there is no other country with a similar name in the entire tract indicated save Tepra or Tepora, the Taprobane of the Greeks; and as Tepra, and it alone, has fully and abundantly satisfied us on all the other points, it can but finally take to itself its own name. We have already remarked that the first founder of this state in its own annals is stated to have been one *Teppor*, who came from the *West;* and we have seen the variation of the sound of Ophir furnished by the Septuagint in Sephar and Sophara. And we may conclude this portion of our remarks by stating that the *t* in Teppora appears to be a prefix. It is used as a prefix in names of countries adjacent, being our definite article *the*, the Malay *itu*, the Greek *το*, &c., and implies "*the* land of." Thus we find it in the adjoining country of Tibet or Thibet, which is properly T'Bhôt = the land of Bhôt. So T'epora = the land of Ŏpŏr or Ophir. It must be remembered that the sound of Ophir, though it has the *vau* and the *yod*, is referred to the shortened sound *ăfăr*, which signifies *volcanic*, and which excludes the *vau* and *yod*.[2]

Here, then, in Tepra or Tepora, the Taprobane of the

[1] The ruins of this once great city lie on property owned by J. Patrick Wise, Esq., of Rostellan Castle, co. Cork. In connection, too, with this *City of Gold*, and the mention made of Solomon's making "vessels of gold," it is remarkable that the natives have so often found golden dishes and vessels in eastern modern Bengal (the ancient Ophir) at the bottom of tanks and in rivers, that it has been incorporated into their fairy tales and legends. Indeed, even to the distant inhabitants of Tartary, this region of Tepera, Taprobane, or Ophir, is yet a land of mystery, magic, enchantment, and fabulous wealth. The writer can personally vouch for this: and it seems as if the legend of cities of gold being buried to *the east of Khoten in an indefinite region* also belonged to Ophir or Tepora. We have already previously noted the trade that was carried on north with China (and thence west into Khoten and Tartary) from Tepora.

[2] See Gesenius.

Greeks, *and nowhere else*, we find the Ophir which was used interchangeably with Tharshish, this being its southern portion; which lay contiguous to Chittim or Cathay, the "Isles of the Sea" or the Archipelago, Sheba or Java or Saba (and Havilah); the founder of which was Teppor or "*the* Ophir"; which was a maritime kingdom with numerous seaports; which alone exercised sway in those parts; which was occupied by a Sanscrit-speaking people; the principal and abundant productions of which were gold, silver, tin, precious stones, ivory, algum trees, apes, and parrots; and which, finally, has existed from such a period of remote antiquity that its early history is lost in the dim speculations of Hindu mythology.[1]

The total result, thus, is most remarkable; and that in three ways. Not only is the site of the Greek Taprobane identified, not only is the site of the Hebrew Ophir identified, but the two are found to be identically the same. This result is one which could not have been foreseen,[2] and yet, having found it, when we come to examine it, we find it only what is necessary. Both the Greek Taprobane and the Hebrew Ophir bring us to a Sanscrit-speaking race. The products of gold, gems, and elephants (ivory) are identical. The philological testimony of the names point in one direction. They both refer to very nearly the same period of the world's history in the East; and it is impossible to conceive that mariners of the same eastern shores of the Mediterranean, Hebrews and Phœnicians, Greeks and Egyptians, trading alike to the East, should have been each ignorant of a world-famed, rich, and great land in or near the same locality which was known to the other. The imposing embassy to the Romans was but a repetition of a still more imposing embassy at an earlier part from the same regions to King Solomon; and our Lord, thus, was literally correct when He paraphrased Sheba, the southernmost limit of the

[1] We have here a formidable and unique assemblage of local names, which is very significant, such as Sonargaon = *the city of gold;* Manipur = *the country of gems;* Perak = *the silver country;* and Tepora = *the land of Ophir;* an assemblage that we may expect to find in the veritable land of Ophir.

[2] It was never suspected by the writer.

Eastern Archipelago, by "the uttermost parts of the earth." From the determination of the site of the Greek Taprobane, the confusion regarding Ceylon has been cleared up, and a reason found for its singular name; while in determining the Hebrew Ophir we find out also Sheba and Tharshish. And these also are just what we should expect, for truth always sheds light.

THE OLYMPIADS

IN CONNEXION WITH

THE GOLDEN AGE OF GREECE.

By W. R. A. Boyle, Esq.

Read 6th May, 1873.

That at an early period chronology fell into a state of confusion, from which it has never yet been relieved, is universally admitted. In classical antiquity, our historical knowledge, in point of arrangement, is derived from the two great time-measures or modes of reckoning known as the Olympiads and Years of Rome. By reference to the former of these, dates have been assigned to the great struggles with Persia, which constitute or fall within the Golden Age of Greece. As regards the Olympiads themselves, authentic lists are extant with the names of all the Olympic victors from Corœbus downwards, and no suspicion has hitherto been cast upon the regular and uninterrupted observance of this celebrated quadriennial cycle, which, on the authority of Censorinus and others, is placed in the year B.C. 776. Traces, however, are to be found that this date has not been uniformly received. Eusebius is inconsistent, sometimes placing the first Olympiad in B.C. 776, and at other times two years higher, in B.C. 778. In the various attempts to adjust the Olympiads to the Years of Rome, both have been shifted up and down like the slides of a parallel ruler; although the doubts raised have related more to Roman than to Grecian chronology (see G. Seyffarth's Chron. Sacr. and other works). But notwithstanding this occasional hesitation respecting the commencement of the Era, no doubt has been entertained that the series of Olympiads, whenever these began, was regularly maintained and uninterrupted throughout.

This notion is so deeply rooted as to have given rise to

political reflections on the temper and constitution of the Hellenic mind. "In this persistent regularity of national observances, even in times of imminent peril, and under the most pressing dangers from the vast hosts of Xerxes, is to be found," says an eminent historian, "another attribute of the Greek character. It was the time of celebrating both the Olympic festival games on the banks of the Alpheius and the Karneian festival at Sparta, and most of the other Dorian states. Even at a moment when their whole freedom and existence were at stake, the Greeks could not bring themselves to postpone these venerated solemnities, especially the Peloponnesian Greeks, among whom this force of religious routine appears to have been the strongest. At a period more than a century later, in the time of Demosthenes, when the energy of the Athenians had materially declined, we shall find them, too, postponing the military necessities of the State to the complete and splendid fulfilment of their religious festival obligations, starving all their measures of foreign policy in order that the Theôric exhibitions might be imposing to the people, and satisfactory to the gods. . . . . The Peloponnesians remaining at home to celebrate their festivals, while an invader of superhuman might was at their gates, reminds us of the Jews in the latter days of their independence, who suffered the operations of the besieging Roman army round their city to be carried on without interruption during the Sabbath." (Grote's History of Greece.)

This conviction that the Olympic festivals had been continuously maintained is so strong and general as almost to have assumed the form of an axiom. It appears to have derived its force from tradition, and to be supported by the concurrent testimony of all writers from the earliest to the latest times.

Through the trammels of a persuasion thus universal, it was difficult to break. It is clear, however, that if B.C. 778, and not B.C. 776, was the first Olympic year, either all the other Olympic years ought to quadrate and correspond with this, or else some disturbance or irregularity must have occurred in the course of the festivals themselves.

Brilliant as was the career of the Athenians, and then of the Confederate Greeks, in the later years of Darius Hystaspes and the early years of Xerxes, Hellas would never have occupied the prominent position in history which she does, unless for her poets, her orators, and her philosophers. She rarely appeared in arms except in defensive or internal warfare; and but for her literature and arts, she would scarcely have been known beyond the limits of her own territory, had not the Hellenic mantle been assumed first by Philip and then by Alexander, when the Macedonian conqueror stept forth into Asia. The country was split up into numerous states, with discordant interests, and petty rivalries and struggles continually mar the grandeur of her fame, and cast their dark shadows over her noblest exploits. In her contests with Persia, these were nearly productive of disastrous results; and even the great division that took place in the Peloponnesian war between those states, which sided with Athens on the one hand and with Lacedæmon on the other, did not prevent minor dissensions springing up among the confederate states themselves. It was one of these subordinate and apparently insignificant discords that led to that derangement in chronology, which has hitherto eluded every effort made for its discovery, and well nigh extinguished the light of evidential theology.

Indenting the western side of the Peloponnesus, and occupying the central portion of it, lies the Cyparissian Gulph. Stretching from the projecting ledge of the promontory of Ichthys on the north to the more rounded coastline towards the south, there juts out from this among other less conspicuous promontories that of Cyparissium, which has given its name to this portion of the Adriatic or Ionian Sea. Nearly opposite the centre of the gulph, but a short distance inland, was the town of Lepreum, with a small territory attached to it. This extended over a portion of the district of Triphylia, within which it was situated.

Of the Peloponnesian states the most feeble was that of Elis, which was situated on the north-western coast, facing the island of Zacynthus, the modern Zante. This weakness is to be attributed to its early history. It had been invaded

from Ætolia, on the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulph, at a time when the Pisatid was already inhabited. But the invaders, though victorious, either had not sufficient strength thoroughly to subdue the Pisatans, or else were not politic enough to absorb the conquered Pisatæ into their own people. The plain of Olympia was situated within the Pisatid, whose inhabitants had originally enjoyed the distinction of ordering and superintending the Olympic Games. After the Ætolian invasion, the presidency of the Olympic festivals was usurped by the Eleians, although their title was occasionally contested by the Pisatæ. Triphylia lying to the south was in great measure protected by Pisatis, and could not be attacked from Elis, if the Pisatæ were in arms, or had sufficient strength to interpose for its protection.

Lepreum itself was strong by nature, but its peculiar position rendered it an object of importance to the surrounding states, and laid its territory open to attack. It had been coveted both by Elis and Arcadia; but though said to have been claimed as an Eleian town, it had maintained a separate autonomy until some time before the Peloponnesian war. The mountain range, commencing near Olympia, ran down the lower portion of Elis, through Tryphilia, and then crossed into Arcadia. This was to some extent a protection; but on the southern or south-western side of this range Lepreum was accessible from both these states, and was likewise open to approach from Messenia. Prior to this, though for how long is uncertain, since Thucydides uses the indefinite adverb ποτὲ, a war had arisen between the Lepreates and some of the Arcadians, when the former sought the assistance of Elis. This was accorded, though upon the onerous terms of ceding one half of their territory, which, however, was compounded for an annual payment of one talent as a tribute to the Olympian Jupiter (Thuc. v, 31). On the breaking out of the Attic or Peloponnesian war, the Lepreates refused to pay this tribute, on the ground of the burthen which the war imposed upon them. The Eleians, however, insisted upon its payment being continued, whereupon the Lepreates had recourse to the Lacedæmonians, to whom the dispute was ultimately referred. Suspecting an adverse decision, the

Eleians renounced their interference, and laid waste the territory of the Lepreates. The Lacedæmonians nevertheless adjudged the Lepreates independent, and the Eleians to be the wrong doers; and as they had not abided by the reference, sent a body of troops to attack the fort of Phyrcon and garrison Lepreum. The Eleians, conceiving that by this step the Lacedæmonians had received into their protection one of their own revolted cities, broke off their alliance and went over to the Argives. A new league was then formed between Argos, Corinth, Elis, and Mantineia, which Tegea was also solicited to join, but remained firm in its adherence to Sparta.

Such were the political incidents, as described by Thucydides, which at this period took place within the Peloponnesus. The *order* of their occurrence has now to be determined. Thucydides divides his work into summers and winters, and makes an annual rest at the end of every successive year. But in his account of the eleventh year of the war, he gives a graphic sketch of the ever-changing relations, and almost indiscriminate wars, between the various Hellenic states. Here he refers back to events either anterior to the war itself, or which occurred in the early part of it. Referring to the dispute between the Eleians and the Lepreates, he states that this was whether the tribute should be discontinued *during* the war. The language, though misapprehended by Grote, is perfectly plain. His words are—*Καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφερον, ἔπειτα παυσαμένων διὰ πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἐπηνάγκαζον· οἱ δ' ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ δίκης Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτραπείσης, κ.τ.λ* (v, 31). "They (the Lepreates) paid it until the Attic war, when, having stopped it by reason of the war, the Eleians were proceeding to enforce it, but they (the Lepreates) had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. The decision being committed to the Lacedæmonians," &c. Grote reads *ἔπειτα*, *after the war*, instead of *after its beginning*.

The nature of the dispute is accurately stated by Mitford, who says—"But when the war with Athens broke out, the Lepreans as well as the Eleians being members of

the Lacedæmonian confederacy, urged the expense of expeditions into Attica, and other burthens of the war, as pretences for discontinuing the payment. This the Eleians would not admit" (iii, 83). The stoppage of the tribute was thus caused *by* the war; therefore this had *begun before* payment was discontinued, and its stoppage would not be known until some time afterwards. There were then the negotiations, which took place between the Eleians and the Lepreates, next the appeal to the Lacedæmonians, followed by the reference of the dispute to them. Some interval must then be allowed before the Eleians repudiated the reference, and marched their troops into the Lepreate territory; and, finally, some time must have elapsed before the Lacedæmonians could hear of this and send a force of 1,000 men to attack the fort of Phyrcon and garrison Lepreum. As the Peloponnesian war broke out in the spring of B.C. 431, the Lacedæmonian troops could scarcely have occupied Lepreum until some time in B.C. 430. Is there any indication, then, that in the regular course of events the celebration of an Olympic festival would have fallen in this the second year of the war, but that for some reason it was postponed.

For the purpose of determining this it is requisite to pursue the internal history of Greece a little further. The new league between Argos, Corinth, Elis, and Mantineia, formed in the eleventh year of the war, was followed by severe contests between the Lacedæmonians and the Mantineians, aided by the Argives. In these the former were victorious. Shortly after this the Helots, who had fought in their ranks, and some of whom had probably deserted from the neighbouring states, were liberated by them. They were then placed in the very city of Lepreum, which had already been the source of so much discord between the Eleians and the Lacedæmonians. A state of open warfare thus existed between the Lacedæmonians and the Eleians, as members of the new league, in addition to which the old Lepreate wound, which had never been healed, broke out afresh. It was aggravated in the eyes of the Eleians by this irritating occupation of Lepreum by a body of men, thus located on

their borders, or (as they considered) within their own territory. As guardians of their country's honor, from their superintendence of the national councils, festivals, and contests, the Eleians of all the Hellenic tribes must have held these liberated slaves in the greatest abhorrence, and therefore felt the indignity most keenly. During the peace which shortly afterwards ensued between the two great confederacies, consisting of Athens and its allies on the one side, and Lacedæmon and its allies on the other, the Eleians had an opportunity of displaying the rancour which they felt from this humiliation of their pride, and the deep laceration of their own and the national honor in thus encroaching upon and sullying the most sacred soil of Greece. Up to this time but two Olympic festivals had occurred during the war. The first of these was held in its fourth year, at which a deputation of the Lacedæmonians was present, who were prominently addressed by the ambassadors of Mytilene. The second must have been held during the eighth year of the war, of which, however, nothing is recorded beyond the name of the Olympic victor in the list preserved by Eusebius, who was Symmachus the Messenian. After eleven years internal warfare the contending parties agreed to an armistice; but the twelfth year, B.C. 420, far from being ushered in by any real conciliation, only revealed in stronger colors the complex and distracted relations existing among the various states of Greece.

Still the armistice between the two prominent states led to a general suspension of arms. A treaty of peace was concluded between the Athenians on the one side and the Argives, Mantineians, and Eleians on the other. The Olympic festival at Elis was to be celebrated with more than usual magnificence, and the Athenians, who, since the war, had been excluded from the great national assembly, were once more to appear on the scene. At such a time, and under such circumstances, the Eleians, who were now the acknowledged hereditary directors of this high festival, and in whose territory the festival was to be held, became invested with more than ordinary authority. The Olympic truce was

again proclaimed throughout the Peloponnesus and on the Attic continent; but so far as appears no reconciliation was effected between the three last and the Lacedæmonians, who were no parties to this treaty. Still, as summer approached, no note of war was sounded throughout Greece; but although this truce was broken by no new hostile movement, the original source of contention between the Eleians and Lacedæmonians, viz., the occupation of Lepreum, aggravated as this was by the substitution of a Helot garrison for one of free Lacedæmonians, still continued. And now let us contrast the position of the Eleians in this twelfth year of the war with what it had been in the second year of it, and thence downwards. Although on the original occupation of Lepreum they broke off from the Lacedæmonians, they then found themselves in an isolated position, since the Argives and the Achaïans during the earlier period of the war remained neutral, preserving amicable relations with both the contending parties (Thuc. ii, 7). It was the ambition of the Argives to obtain or rather regain the lead among the Peloponnesian states which induced them afterwards, in the eleventh year of the war, to sever themselves from the Lacedæmonians and form a league with Arcadia, Elis, and Mantineia. The celebrated combat between three hundred Argives and an equal number of Lacedæmonians, in which the former were defeated, had not yet faded from their remembrance (Herod. i, 82). Another peace was about this time concluded between the Athenians and the Argives, Mantineians, and Eleians (Thuc. v, 47).

These alliances gave a strength to the Eleians which they had not before possessed. Of this they availed themselves to display their long-cherished resentment against Sparta. They took the bold step of interdicting the Lacedæmonians from the common sacrifices of the assembled states of Greece, of prohibiting their approach to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, and their participation in the national councils and festivals (Thuc. v, 49). The decree pronounced was one of excommunication. To this they were no doubt instigated by their new allies, the Argives, then engaged in attempting to recover the ground they had lost in their earlier contests

with the Spartans, and to supplant Lacedæmon as the leading state in the Peloponnesus. No step could so effectually further this design as the public humiliation of Lacedæmon, and the exclusion of its principal men on this important occasion from communion with the other assembled Greeks. The field was thereby left open to the Argives to carry on their intrigues without appearing to be the authors of the opportunity. To affix upon the Lacedæmonians the stigma of sacrilege, and cast them off on a religious pretext from participating with the rest of Greece in the great national solemnities, was a masterstroke of policy. It forcibly illustrates the subtilty of the Greek character. To detach the Corinthians from the Lacedæmonians was one great object of the manœuvre. Accordingly strenuous efforts were made for this purpose, which were followed up by a new embassy inviting the Corinthians to join the northern allies. But in spite of the prohibition some Lacedæmonians had contrived to be present at the festival. One of these, Lichas, son of Arcesilaus, a wealthy Lacedæmonian, under Bœotian colors, won the chariot race. When the Bœotian state was proclaimed the victor, he himself stept forward and crowned the charioteer, to make it publicly known that the chariot was that of a Lacedæmonian. For this breach of order he was beaten back by the staff bearers of the course, an indignity which gave rise to increased apprehensions of an armed intervention from the side of Sparta. Either through Lichas, who had thus gained access to Elis, or through some friendly channel, the Lacedæmonians had become aware of the hostile intrigues of the northern confederates, and when the ambassadors from them reached Corinth they found that some of the principal Lacedemonians had, accidentally as it were, arrived before them.

A protracted conference ensued, which made little or no progress, owing to the unwillingness of the Corinthians at this time to take part with either side. It was at length broken off by an earthquake, without the object of the northern embassy having been attained.

Bearing now in mind the weak and isolated position

of the Eleians at the beginning of the war, when, as Thucydides says (v, 31), the Lepreate dispute first arose, let us see what was the charge which the Eleians, in the twelfth year of the war, when strengthened by a powerful confederacy, brought against the Lacedæmonians. It was, that they, the Lacedæmonians, "had made an attack upon the fort of Phyrcon, and had sent an armed force to Lepreum *during the Olympic truce*" (*ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπικαῖς σπονδαῖς*, v, 49).

An Olympic truce thus occurred shortly after the *beginning* of the war. It has been shown from the origin and course of the dispute that the Lacedæmonians could not well have sent a body of troops to garrison Lepreum before the second year of the war, or B.C. 430. From Thucydides we learn that an Olympic truce fell in this year, and consequently that an Olympic festival should then have been celebrated. No Olympic council, however, was held in that year. This is accounted for by the fact, that the Eleians were at this time unsupported, while the Lacedæmonians during the second year of the war were particularly strong and aggressive. They dispatched a strong force to Zacynthus, which, without actually subduing it, overran the whole island. As it lay opposite the north-western coast of the Peloponnesus, Elis must have had considerable commercial intercourse with it; and their failure to render any assistance shows their weakness at this particular period.

To Olympic, as to the other Grecian festivals, were attached certain duties, as well as privileges. The city administering such sacred ceremonies enjoyed inviolability of territory during the month of their occurrence, being itself under obligation at that time to refrain from all aggression, as well as to notify by heralds the commencement of the truce to all other cities, not in avowed hostility to it.

Looking, then, to the mutual charges and recriminations between the Eleians and Lacedæmonians during the peace which occurred in the twelfth year of the war, we find that the occupation of Lepreum took place at, or shortly after, the beginning of the war. It was when the Eleians, during the second year of the war, had proclaimed an Olympic truce in their own territory, but before they had sent heralds to

proclaim it in other states, that the Lacedæmonian invasion occurred. Thus assailed and obstructed, the Eleians, sensible of their own want of power and authority at this juncture, proceeded no further in notifying or preparing for the Olympic festival, which was to have followed. For the first and only time in the course of the Olympiads, one was now allowed to drop out of its proper place. It was not, as we can gather from Thucydides, although unperceived by himself, held until *two* years later. Thus it happened that instead of being celebrated in the year B.C. 430, when the usual preliminary truce was first proclaimed, showing that to have been the fourth year from the preceding Olympiad, the Olympic festival was not again celebrated till B.C. 428, that is, in the sixth year instead of the fourth. The eighty-seventh Olympiad was thus made to extend over six years, and not over four only.

The effect of this disturbance or irregularity in the Olympic reckoning was to bring down the first eighty-seven Olympiads by two years throughout. These have all to be raised thus much, leaving the eighty-eighth and subsequent Olympiads as they now stand.

The loss of two years in the Olympic reckoning is corroborated by Eusebius. He places the eclipse of Thales, not with Pliny in Ol. 48, 4, but in Ol. 49, 2, being the exact difference of two years, and so making the Olympiads begin in B.C. 778, instead of B.C. 776. Another solar eclipse is stated by him to have occurred in Ol. 79, 3, and A.U.C. 290, being the third year after the birth of Socrates. The eclipse thus indicated was on April 30, B.C. 463, which is in accordance with the received year of Rome, B.C. 753 − 290 = B.C. 463. But to bring it within the Olympic year mentioned, the Olympiads must have begun as before, in B.C. 778. Thus, $78 \times 4 = 312 + 2 = 314$. Then, $778 - 314 = 464{\cdot}3$, of which years April would fall in B.C. 463. This was about thirty years before the Olympiads became disordered, and both this eclipse and that of Thales were no doubt attached to the Olympic years, thus specified by Eusebius, before this derangement took place, and were taken by him from some ancient and authentic sources.

In thus establishing the year B.C. 778, instead of B.C. 776, as the true commencement of Olympic reckoning, it will be found that the first stone has been laid of a foundation, on which alone a solid structure of universal history, and still more of evidential theology, can be erected, so as to be capable of resisting every assault.

NOTE ON EGYPTIAN PREPOSITIONS.

By P. Le Page Renouf.

Read 3rd June, 1873.

In the ancient language of Egypt prepositions are not unchangeable particles as they are in Latin, Greek, and other languages with which we are most familiar. The truth is, the very existence of prepositions as a distinct part of speech indicates a comparatively late stage of language. The Semitic prepositions, as Gesenius and other scholars have shown, may in nearly every instance be traced to substantives in a construct state; and in the Indo-European languages, according to Bopp, the genuine prepositions, and such adverbs as in form and meaning are connected with prepositions, admit universally of being traced, with greater or less certainty, to pronouns. Vestiges of a plural of prepositions are still to be found in the Hebrew of the Bible, but in Egyptian *all* prepositions admit of a plural, and some of them admit other remarkable phonetic changes dependent upon grammatical construction.

These changes, which I am about to describe, will be better understood if we bear in mind that a preposition is often complementary either to a verb, as pointing out the direction of the verbal action (as "I give *to* thee," "come forth *from* the house"), or to some other part of speech which is not a substantive. Or it may simply express a relation between two substantives, as "the voice *of* the singer," "the men *in* the city," "my friendship *with* you.' Now, the Egyptian words which are used in the latter way are not mere prepositions in the sense of our grammars. They are relative pronouns or adjectives as well, subject to

phonetic change and in concord with an antecedent. "The wife *of* the king" is grammatically equivalent to "the wife *who is that of* the king," "the men in the city" = "the men *who are in* the city."

Prepositions, on the other hand, which are complementary to a verb are as a rule unchangeable. The three apparent exceptions to the rule will be mentioned, each in its proper place.

I. The relation of the genitive may, as is well known, be expressed by the mere juxta-position of two nouns, as *se Rā*, "son of the Sun." The two nouns are, however, most commonly connected together by means of one of the following particles, *en*, *nu*, *ent*, *enti*. These particles are not simply interchangeable, any more than the French *de*, *du*, *des*. But their use varies according to the gender and number of the noun which precedes, not of that which follows them.

a. The particle *en* may accompany nouns of both genders and numbers; thus, *ḥimet en erpā ḥā* "wife of the prince," *set en pa urà en Beχten* "daughter of the king of Bachtan," *χeftu: en Rā* "enemies of the Sun-god."[1]

b. In the "base" periods the sign is confounded with , but in all texts of the better periods the noun which precedes the particle is invariably in the plural number, as [2] *rennu: nu neteru:* "names of the gods," and the phonetic value of the particle is *nu*, as it is written throughout the great inscription of Una, published by M. de Rougé in his work on the first six dynasties, *e.g.*, *nehesiu: nu set: peten*[3] "*the negroes of these regions.*" This orthography is found

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmæler* II, pl. 124, l. 67. Prisse, *Monumens*, pl. 24, l. 18. Todtenbuch, 39, 7, 9.

[2] *Antiquités*, V, pl. 41.

[3] M. E. de Rougé read *nu tes-u peten*, but the phonetic value, *set*, of the sign is too firmly established by variants (see *Zeitsch. f. Aegypt. Sp.* 1867, p. 41).

in very much more recent texts; *e.g.*, [1] *ḥebu: nebu: nu ḥat-Nit* "all the festivals of Sais." The more common orthography, however, when the vowel is written, is .

c. In texts of the better periods the antecedent of *ent*, when in the singular number, is always a feminine noun: thus, *kat nebt ent suten* "every building of the king," [2] *bât ent rā neb* "the bread of each day," [3] *ta neter ḥat ent paik neter* "the temple of thy god," [4] *sept ent Pa-âlit* "the nome of Polis."

Even the more recent and corrupt texts, such as that of the Turin Ritual, furnish abundant evidence of this interesting fact. We have only to look out for well-known

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to be shaken by the discovery of a word (*test*) which like very many others has as a determinative. In my transcriptions the colon (:) stands for the mark of the plural.

In confirmation of my remarks (*Zeitsch.* 1871, p. 133) on the gender of or see Mariette's *Abydos* I, pl. 37*b*, where the feminine nouns and have the pronoun , while the masculine has .

[1] British Museum, No. 52; Sharpe, *E. Inscriptions*, I, 16.

[2] British Museum, 574; Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, I, 79.

[3] Tablet in the Louvre; Sharpe II, 24.

[4] Denkm. III, 199*a*. I agree with M. de Rougé in identifying Paarit or Paalit with the *uu* of the eleventh nome of Lower Egypt, with the name of which Dr. Brugsch had already compared the Egyptian Πόλις.

The phonetic value of is not *hesp*, as is commonly supposed. It must certainly be a word ending in *t*. And a monument at Leyden (see Leemans, II, 11, 45*a*) gives the full reading *sept* on a variant of the formula so commonly written *e.g.*, British Museum, 562. There is, however, no doubt that *hesp* is a word of cognate etymology and meaning.

masculine words of constant occurrence, such as *hru* "day," *kerḥu* "night," *bā* "soul," *tu* "mountain," *ren* "name"; and on the other hand for equally well-known feminine nouns, such as *śāt* "book," *unnut* "hour," *suḥt* "egg," *useχt* "hall," *ȧat* "abode," *sebeχt* "cell," *ārit* "gateway," *māχait* "balance," *nehat* "sycamore," *χut* "horizon"; and we cannot fail to be convinced that the latter words are followed by as regularly as the words of the former set are followed by . If an exception to the rule appears to rise up it will be sure to vanish on a strict investigation of the accuracy of the text. We find, for instance, *āḥā ent Rā*[1] in the 111th

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[1] The accepted reading of the sign is *ḥā*. That this is not quite correct is proved by very ancient variants. *sāḥā* (*Denkm.* II, pl. 144) = "to raise," Coptic ⲦⲀϨⲞ. The simple verb is written on the Sarcophagus of Apiānchu (*Denkm.* II, pl. 98). From a later period we have the variants , , (Sharpe, *E. Ins.* pl. 7, 30 and 31) on the Sarcophagus of Imhotep in the Louvre, and also that of Necht-hor-heb, which further gives the group . The chief Coptic words (ⲀϨⲀ, ⲀϨⲒ, ⲞϨⲒ, ⲰϨⲒ) corresponding to groups in which the sign occurs, exhibit the initial vowel. ⲙ̀ϨⲀⲨ corresponding to is an exception, but on the other hand we have the full reading *māḥāt* (British Mus. 579) of this group on a tablet of the 12th dynasty. ⲙ̀ϨⲀⲨ is a form like ⲙ̀ϢⲒⲢ as compared with ⲘⲈⲬⲒⲢ. The variants (British Mus. 584), also found on a tablet of the oldest period, , , and referred to by M. Jacques de Rougé (*Textes Geographiques*, p. 38) must also be pronounced *māḥāt*. The signs and are here variants of the full phonetic form of which in the singular number is (*Denkm.* III, 281*c*). *Mu* is a plural form, of which evidence is sometimes given, being followed by .

chapter of the Turin Ritual, but the true reading is *en Rā*, as even the same papyrus gives it in the text of the 108th chapter.

There are also instances of word-composition, more or less complete, in which the feminine element is dominant, as [1] *āpt-rē ent suten* "the speech of the king," [2] *χert-hru ent rā neb* "the round of each day." In process of time and were written, and the feminine gender of either of these words could only be detected by means of another word in concord with it.

Plural nouns may also be antecedents of , as [3] *ret: ent śfit* "men of valour," [4] *t'at'asu: āat ent neter neb netert neb* "the great chiefs of every god and goddess."

In most of the instances of this kind which I remember the plural nouns are feminine, even though referring to collections of male individuals.[5] But there are also instances of masculine nouns preceding , whether rightly or wrongly I will not now venture to say.

It is important to observe, that the antecedent of is not necessarily the noun immediately preceding it. In the clumsily worded title, for instance, of the 145th chapter of the Ritual the antecedent of is as it is more correctly expressed in the title of the 146th chapter,

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[1] *Denkm.* II, pl. 124, l. 109.
[2] Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 30, l. 12.
[3] *Denkm.* II, pl. 136.
[4] *Todt.* 18, 38; 20, 7; 22, 2; 134, 8; 145, 73.
[5] A very large number of words signifying bodies of men are feminine.

"cells of the house of Osiris in Aanru."

d. *enti* is also used to express the relation of the genitive, as in *paif sχeru: enti ra neb* "his wont of each day," throughout the *tale of the Two Brothers,* [1] *em χat enti mut-ek* "from the womb of thy mother," [2] *unnut āpt enti hau* "first hour of the day."

The last of these examples is taken from a series of inscriptions relative to the twenty-four hours. Each hour of the day and night is mentioned in its turn, and here we find that the word *unnut*, "hour," is followed indifferently by , or , which are, in fact, different forms of the relative pronoun.

The use of the relative pronoun in expressing the relation of the genitive is extremely common in certain languages.

If we could trust our present Hebrew text of the Bible הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר הֲדַד (1 Kings xi, 25) "the mischief of Hadad,"[3] literally "the mischief which Hadad," would be an example of what grammarians call the "circumscription of the genitive" exactly similar to what occurs in old Egyptian. In the Aramaic and Æthiopic languages the genitive is commonly expressed by means of the relative pronoun, *sa* in Assyrian, דִּ, דְּ in Chaldee, ܕ in Syriac, and ዘ: in Æthiopic. The same kind of construction is found in Samaritan, Phœnician, and Himyaritic. In Æthiopic, as in Egyptian, a special feminine and a special plural form may be found, agreeing with the antecedent corresponding, although the form ዘ: may, like the Egyptian , be used with both genders and numbers.[4]

The Egyptian is not only a preposition as well as a relative pronoun, it is also a conjunction like the French *que*,

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[1] Brugsch, *Recueil*, II, pl. 78.

[2] *Ibid.* pl. 80.

[3] In this and some other instances, it is most probable that a word has fallen out of the text. Cf. Ewald, *ausf. hebr. Spl.*, p. 737. *n.* 1. (7th ed.).

[4] Cf. Dillman, *Grammatik d. Æthiopischen Spr.*, p. 259.

the Latin *quod*, the Greek ὅτι, the Sanskrit *yat*. But of its use as a conjunction I have not now to speak.

There can be but little doubt that *àn* is one of the forms of *en*. One of the many functions of this particle consists in connecting a verb with its subject, as in *sema en hen-f menti* "his majesty slaughtered the barbarian." The same function is discharged by , and it is as far as I am aware the only one which that particle discharges. There is always a verb, expressed or understood, before *àn*, and the noun or pronoun which follows it is the agent or subject of the verb. Hence the prepositional meaning *by* or *from*. But whereas the particle in this relation always immediately follows the verb, may be separated from the verb by the whole length of a sentence. When it immediately follows the verb, the latter is sure to be intransitive (as in the frequent historical form *un àn-f her ťat* "he said")[1] or at least is not followed by a noun governed by it.

2. The uses of the particle *em* are very various and remarkable. It is originally a pronoun, closely allied to the relative and interrogative *mā*, *oĭos*, "qualis," "quis?" It has the sense of "as" in such phrases as [2] *āhā-nà em Hor, hemse-nà em Ptah*, "I stood up like Horus, I sat down like Ptah." Here stands between a verb and a noun. Between two verbs the particle commonly used is *mà*, as [3] "he sits as you sit." and are, therefore, two forms of the same word. This change from the relative pronoun to a conjunction or adverb is intelligible enough, especially if we remember that the Greek ὡς is now considered an old accusative form of the pronoun ὅς. The transition from the same pronoun (in its

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[1] Compare de Rougé, *Inscription d'Ahmes*, p. 171, and following.
[2] *Todt.* xi, 3. [3] *Todt.* i, 12.

interrogative use, no doubt) to a sense of prohibition and negation is less obvious, but we have the instructive analogies furnished by the Hebrew and Chaldee מָה and the Arabic لم, in which precisely the same transition has taken place.[1]

As a preposition expresses all the relations which in Latin are expressed by means of the ablative case. On account of its weak vocalic anlaut it is unable to bear the weight of pronominal suffixes until the anlaut has been phonetically strengthened. We say *pir em re* "coming forth from the mouth," but *pir am-f* "coming forth from it."[2]

em becomes or *àm* even without suffixes, whenever they are understood, or whenever it implies relation to an antecedent, as *bu neb āk-ek àm* "every place *into which* thou comest," here being instead of ; *àm heh-f* "*he who is in* his own fire" (the name of a mythological serpent). The curious word *àmi-ren-f* "a catalogue" (as Mr. Goodwin has shown) literally signifies "*that on which* his name is."

takes a plural form *àmu*, as [3] *bàiu: àmu: ament* "the souls *which are in* Amenti." In the Rhind Papyri is translated into Demotic by *na enti en* "those who are in." In the Rosetta Inscription it corresponds to the Greek *οἱ ἐν*. It has also another meaning. In passages like *bu nebu:* [4] *enti auf àmu:* "all the places which

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[1] See the grammars of Gesenius, p. 834 (1817), and Ewald, p. 794 (1863).

[2] Exactly the same change takes place under the same circumstances in the negative . See my *Note on some Negative Particles of the Egyptian Language.*

[3] Bonomi, *Sarcophagus*, pl. 15, line 18.

[4] Sharpe, II, 3, 2.

it is in," stands for *ȧm-sen*, just as *tef-u* stands for *tef-sen*.

Are we to recognise feminine forms in the singular, in the plural? This question must be answered in the negative. The forms exist, but they are not specially feminine.[1] The here is what is commonly called the participial form, with the phonetic value *tu*.

This syllable which is pronominal in its origin is appended to several other prepositions. The meaning of *ȧm* is modified by it very much as that of the Latin *in* is modified by the addition of *ter* or *tra*. *ȧmtu* signifies *among, between, in the middle of*. In the 104th chapter of the Book of the Dead the deceased sits *ȧmtu neteru: āaiu:* "inter deos magnos" or "in medio deorum." and would equally be out of place here. In the 83rd chapter there is an invocation to the deities of Sechem and An (that is Letopolis and Heliopolis), and to the *nenui ȧmtu-sen* "the stream *which is between* them." Heliopolis was on the left bank of the Nile, and on the right bank, opposite to it, was the Letopolite nome.[2] *uā ȧmtu ābu:* in the decree of Canopus is "*unus inter sacerdotes*," and the next line of the same text speaks of a crown consisting of two ears of corn "with the uraeus between them," *ȧārāt ȧmtu-sen*. The Greek text corresponding to *ȧmtu-sen* is ὧν ἀνὰ μέσον. By the light of these texts many passages and expressions will admit of more accurate translation than they have yet received. *ȧmtu ȧb*[3] is not simply "qui est in corde," but "in medio cordis." *set-ef ȧmtu pet*[4] is "his throne which is in the middle of

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[1] From the earliest times is found with masculine antecedents, *e.g.*, "Anubis *in medio sarcophagi*," *Denkm.* II, pl. 123.

[2] Compare Strabo, xvii, 1, 30.

[3] Obelisk of Hatasu, *Denkm.* III, pl. 16.

[4] Brugsch, *Receuil*, II, pl. 62, 3.

heaven," [1] *kàrà àmtu tà* is "the sanctuary which is in the centre of the earth." The Ritual speaks repeatedly of the copper-green sycamore [2] *pir Rā àmtu-s* "*through the midst of which* the Sun-god comes forth" as he advances over the pillars of heaven. The two lofty obelisks in the inscription at Karnak are said to have been erected [3] *er àmtu beχenti urit en Suten* "near the central part (πρὸς τῷ μέσῳ) of the great royal double gateway." And in another part of the same text it is said *uben àten àmtu-n: mà χāā-f em χut ent pet* "the sun shines *between the two* as if rising from the horizon of heaven."

The synonyms of are *her-àb* (corresponding in the Rosetta Inscription to the Greek ἐν τῷ μέσῳ), and [4] *em mā*, the latter being often written [5] or .

sba pui her-àb pet, is "that door in the midst of heaven."

em mā ānχiu: is not "in loco" but "in medio viventium."

ànet' her-ek em mā neteru "hail to thee who art preeminent among the gods." "*Inter cuncta*" in Horace is in the same way equivalent to "*ante omnia.*"

neb χāu: em mā heh:

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[1] Bonomi, *Sarc*, 4 C. Another example will be found at the same reference.

[2] *Todt.* 109, 3; 149, 7.

[3] *Denkm.* III, pl. 16.

[4] *Todt.* 2, 2, 3; 15, 30; 31, 11 (=70, 3); 136, 12. In the first of these passages I translate *śenā-uà* 'gird me round,' not 'es lassen mich,' like Dr. Brugsch.

[5] See *Todt.* 15, 30. *Denkm.* III, 13 and 18, where several instances occur, and Anastasi, pl. 70 *verso*.

sàtiu: "Lord of diadems supreme amid millions of kings of Lower Egypt."

[1] ... *nehes en χer-ḥeb em mā kerḥu remem er ḥeḥ χet en* ... "the mortuary priest keeps his vigil in the middle of the night, continually weeping over the lot of" the departed.

The old Egyptian preposition *em* is not related to the Coptic, which is a mere transformation of ⲙ̀ in presence of certain consonants.

Champollion identified with the Coptic. Even Dr. Brugsch in his Dictionary still speaks of as "Koptisch erhalten in." The Coptic, as I have long since pointed out[2] is nothing but ϩⲡ̀ regularly transformed before a labial. ϩⲡ̀ itself is only the Sahidic form corresponding to the Memphitic ϧⲉⲛ which is derived from the old Egyptian *em χennu.* The Demotic form, which drops the is intermediate between the old Egyptian and the Coptic.

After verbs of *taking, receiving, delivering, concealing, avenging,* and some others, becomes *mā.*[3] The Greek preposition corresponding to this in the texts of Rosetta and Canopus is *παρὰ* followed by a genitive; *e.g.,* *παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς,* "he received his kingdom from his father."

3. The preposition *er* [or *el*], corresponding to the Greek *εἰς*, is both phonetically and grammatically akin to. It has a stronger vocalic anlaut than, for it is able to bear the weight of suffixes. But in other respects it undergoes changes very similar to those of the latter preposition. Whenever it refers to an antecedent its anlaut is phonetically strengthened. It becomes or

[1] Dümichen, *Kalenderinschr.* 35, 45.

[2] *Miscellaneous Notes,* p. 14.

[3] A large number of examples will be found in an old article of mine, *Atlantis,* January, 1860.

àri, and in the plural , , *àru*: or *àriu*.

It is to M. Chabas that we are indebted for the important identification of *àri* with the preposition . But from the explanation given by this eminent scholar I am compelled to dissent. "Le peu d'importance," he says,[1] "des voyelles dans la langue égyptienne permettait d'articuler ce mot de la même manière que la préposition ; aussi les scribes n'ont pas manqué de l'employer abusivement pour exprimer cette préposition." I have been led to very different conclusions about the importance of vowels in the old Egyptian language; and with reference to the question now before us, I am quite certain that the preposition *er* will never be found written *àr* except under the very same conditions as when is lengthened into *àm*.

I therefore translate[2] *χetem àri tot-sen* "the seal which is on their hand," *uatu: àriu: pet ariu: tà* "the ways *which are in* heaven and those *which are on* earth." And I understand the writer in the 4th Anastasi Papyrus as passing his time *her kamhu àri pet* not in "looking at the sky," but at "*that which is in* the sky." To "look at the sky" is or (as it is found in a text published by Dr. Dümichen[3]) *kamhu pet*, without any preposition.

On the sarcophagus of Seti we read of *mā em sàt er àseftu: àru: χa* "water of fire for the blemishes which are in the body [or bodies]." On the same monument we have a picture of those who

[1] *Inscr. de Rosette*, p. 37.

[2] The following examples are explained somewhat differently by M. Chabas, *ubi supra*, and M. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie*, fasc. 2, p. 75.

[3] *Zeitschrift*, January, 1870. Beilage, Taf II, l. 33. In this passage the verb is in the passive—'non videtur cœlum.'

[4] Bonomi, *Sarc.* pl. 15, l. 18.

smen āhā seχeper renpitu: en àru: tamesu: em tuat en ānχiu: em pet "determine the stadium of life, and bring about the years both of those who [are] in ill fortune in the nether world and of those who are living in heaven." A little further on we have *neteru: pui àm tuat àru: re šetà* "those gods in the nether world who [are] at the mysterious door."

In an inscription of Rameses III *àru: pet*, literally "those in the sky," is a compound word signifying "birds," as is proved by the determinative followed by the sign of the plural, just as in the Metternich tablet, *àm-mu* "inhabitants of the water," is followed by a crocodile and a fish as determinatives.

The real origin of has been entirely misunderstood. M. de Rougé, in his dissertation on the inscription of Aahmes, considered it as "une sorte de pronom relatif," which it certainly is; but in adding "tiré du verbe *ār*" this eminent scholar has led many of his followers astray. A comparison of many texts, some of which I shall quote, proves beyond a doubt the absolute identity of and , and the essential identity of both these forms with . The Greek words of the Rosetta Inscription corresponding to

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[1] The word does not mean *sin*, but *bad luck, misfortune, accident, e.g.*, in the prayer (Mariette, *Monumens divers*, pl. 25*b*) that the king may be delivered *mā pir tamesu: er-ef em renpit ten* "from all accidents coming against him during this year." Cf. the Coptic ⲧⲱⲗⲧ *occurrere, casus, eventus.* I am surprised to find that the reading of *sba* for is not yet exploded. *Sba* signifies a "gate," and is a masculine word, never found with a . The full reading of in ancient times was *tuat*, and in the later times (as Dr. Lauth has proved beyond a doubt). It is the region visited by the sun, and illumined by his rays (*Todt.* 15, 34) after his setting upon earth until his rising (*Denkm.* III, 123*a*).

[2] Dümichen, *Hist. Ins.* 9, 18.

her-âb àru are *αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ.* signifying "in the midst," means "of them," [or "of which"] in *this* passage at least, which affords a sufficient key to passages in which or occur. The best proof I can give of the accuracy of the Greek version in this place is by pointing out the exact equivalents in Egyptian texts of the expressions , , and . These again are equivalent to corresponding to the Greek *ἀνθ' ὧν.*

or its variant *reχ àru:* in the great geographical inscription of Abydos, signifies "the list of which" or "their list." It is equivalent to *àpt-set:* in another version of the same text. It is followed at line 48 by the names of twelve odoriferous kinds of wood, and at line 49 by the names of fourteen minerals, the antecedents in the first case being and in the second . On the next page of the text *āḥā àru:* is "the quantity (or weight) of which," namely, of some metal which has just been mentioned.[2]

Another text says of a sacred place, "the gods which are on both sides of it enter it in peace and their hearts rejoice," and it proceeds [3] *paut neteru: àru: em ḥāā* "the gods which are in it [or "its gods"] are in jubilation." Here is used exactly like , and, like this preposition, it is frequently found at the end of a sentence, *e.g.*, *iertiu: àru:* "the deities *which are in it*" or "its deities."

The 148th chapter of the Book of the Dead mentions "the seven cows" *henā kà àru:* "and their bull." In the same way the Annals of Thothmes III

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[1] Compare Brugsch, *Rec.* II, pl. 69, 4, line 5, with the *Antiquités*, V. 22, and Dümichen, *Tempelinschr.* pl. 96, line 11.

[2] See Dümichen, *Rec.* IV, 1, 4; 6, 33; 8, 43, 48; 9, 49, 52, 54; 10, 55, 56, etc.

[3] Dümichen, *Resultate*, pl. 39. See also 45, l. 8 bis: 51, 16, 17, 21.

speak of [1] *.ārti àru:* "their milk," *i.e.*, that of the four cows which had just been mentioned. The royal soldiers are said to be engaged [2] *her àp χet: àru:* "in counting their things."

The words , which occur in certain chapters of the Ritual, clearly signify "in their place."

More than once in the description of a royal building we read of *sbau: àru: em āś mā.* Here *sbau: àru:* signifies "the doors for it," or "its doors." An equivalent of the whole phrase is *sbau:s em āś mā.* Both forms occur on a portico of Seti I at Qurna.[3]

Another equivalent is "the doors into it." In one of the texts published by Dr. Dümichen[4] we find "its doors [are] of cedar." As stands for , so does for "to them," "for them." The Egyptians used a dative in many places where we use a genitive ;[5] somewhat as in the loose French expressions "*la fille à Nicolas,*" "*son nom à lui,*" or the German "*dem Niklas seine Tochter.*"

The curious tablet relative to the Princess of Bachtan says of the king *tā-nef set-ef urit hā àru: her seuaś ḥen-ef,*

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[1] *Denkm.* III, pl. 30, line 8.

[2] *Ib.* pl. 32, line 17. This passage is referred to in Dr. Brugsch's Dictionary under the word in a way which seems quite inadmissible. The sentence certainly ends with . A fresh sentence begins with , and is not the preposition *àm*, but a part of the word *àmu* "tent."

[3] *Denkm.* III, pl. 132*b* and *e*; 152*a*, etc.; also Dümichen, *Result.* 54, line 2.

[4] *Tempelinsch.* 102, 14.

[5] Cf. בֵּן לִישַׁי, 1 Sam. xvi, 18. See Gesenius, *Gr.* p. 673.

"He placed his eldest daughter at the head of them to invoke his majesty." Very similar passages occur in other texts. In the great tablet of Abusimbel[1] we find *set-ef urit em ḥāt ȧri er seḥotep ȧb en neb tȧui* "his eldest daughter at the head of them to reconcile the heart of the Lord of both lands." On another tablet[2] of Rameses II the conquered place *mesu:sen em ḥāt ȧri er tebhu ḥotepu: χer ḥen-ef* "their children at the head of those for praying for peace before his majesty." And in the triumphal inscription at Karnak[3] the auxiliaries of Seti II put themselves *em-ḥāt ari er seksek tȧ en Rebu* "at the head of those for ravaging the land of Libya."

In the decree of Canopus, the particularly early seed time, ὁ προώριμος σπόρος, is expressed by *kurt em ḥāt ȧru:* literally "one at the head of them."

It had escaped the attention of M. de Rougé that in the inscription of Aahmes he had to deal with a compound expression, not simply but *mȧti-ȧru:*. This expression, the formation of which is analogous to that of and , occurs pretty often in the Egyptian texts. Other forms are and . It is always found between two sentences or parts of a sentence. Its function is that of a relative adverb. It occurs in the decrees of Rosetta and Canopus, and is there found to correspond to the Greek adverbs ὡσαύτως and ὁμοίως. But, literally, it corresponds most exactly to the German "dergleichen," "desgleichen." Aahmes says in his inscription, "I have been decorated with the collar of gold seven times in presence of the whole country and the slave population, male and female. *In like* manner

[1] *Denkm.* III, pl. 194. [2] *Ibid.* pl. 195.
[3] Dümichen, *Hist. Ins.* pl. 3, line 27.

I have become possessor (ⲧⲁϩⲟ) of numerous estates." Of the two sentences connected together by *màti-àru:* the first begins with *āuā-kuà em nub*, the second, symmetrically, with *saḥu-kuà em àḥetu: āśu:*. The speaker on one of the Apis tablets in the Louvre says that he had caused messengers to be sent *er tà rest mati-àru er tà meḥit* "to the land of the south and *likewise* to the land of the north." The Barberini obelisk, erected in honour of Antinous, says that he was worshipped as a god by the prophets and priests of Upper and Lower Egypt *màti-àru; en χibut timit er ren-ef* "so likewise was the name of the town changed" in his honour.

The Karnak text of the Poem of Pentaur uses in a place where the Sallier Papyrus has .

In the curious hieratic inscription of Amenhotep in the British Museum *màti-àri*[1] stands between two invocations, the former of blessings upon those who shall protect the interests of a certain temple, and the second of a curse upon those who shall neglect the injunctions of the writer. In this as in all other texts the expression must be rendered "*likewise.*"

The forms , , are found, but they are not specially feminine. The "Stèle du songe," published by

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[1] For an explanation of this expression Dr. Brugsch in his Dictionary refers to *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 2e série, p. 338. Dr. Birch here says, "La dernière formule de même que celle que nous allons rencontrer est une enigme encore non résolue." The second of these riddles also now admits of a ready solution. *apu àri pa ḥā*, signifies "notice *which is for* the chief magistrate," etc. May I venture also to suggest that is not the title of an officer. is in concord with *Māt'aiu:* I read, "the chief of the Mat'aiu *who are at* " wherever that may be.

M. Mariette,[1] mentions a vestibule built by the king, with "its doors of bronze."[2] Here the antecedent is masculine.

No doubt, I think, is possible as to the priority of the forms , , and , with reference to , , and . The former are certainly not abridged forms of the latter. A more plausible question is whether the relative pronoun *à* may not enter into the composition of the longer forms. It is quite certain that and are often exactly identical in meaning with *plus* and *plus* respectively. The compound preposition seems to favour this hypothesis, which is, however, insufficient to explain the origin of or even of when this preposition does not refer to an antecedent.

The other prepositions will not detain us long.

4. The plural of *āpe* as a preposition signifying "upon" occurs very frequently in the expression "those upon earth," in Egyptian , or *āpu tà.*

5. The splendid sarcophagus of Seti has many instances of *χeru: e.g.*, *χeru: χu: χeru: sbau:* "*those who are with* the sun-disk and *those who are with* the stars."

6. The plural of the preposition *ḥer* "over, above," is familiar to us from the name of the five ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι, viz., *heru: renpit* "the five days which are over and above the year." In the 64th chapter of the Ritual, reptiles are called *ḥeru: χatu: sen* "*those who are on* their bellies." [The Turin text is mutilated in this place.]

7. Several instances of the plural "those who with" are to be found, but, unfortunately, in mutilated contexts.

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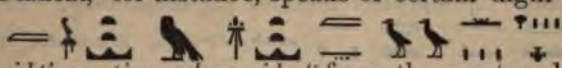
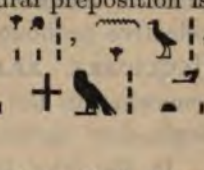
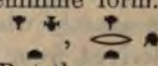
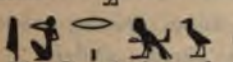
[1] *Monumens divers*, pl. 8.

[2] *Electrum*, according to Dr. Lepsius.

These are the principal simple prepositions. The compound ones take the plural under similar conditions. The inscription of Pianchi,[1] for instance, speaks of certain dignitaries coming  *em àmenti, em àbti em tàuu: heru:-àb* "from the west and from the east and from the lands *which are between.*" In the 19th line of the same inscription the plural preposition is written . We have, in the same way,  , &c.

It is not so easy to affirm with certainty that these prepositions are in general susceptible of a feminine form. Instances indeed are not rare of such forms as  , or with feminine nouns as antecedents. But the question again recurs whether the may not here stand for the syllable as in the cases of and .

 *àrmāu* has long since been identified by Mr. Goodwin, who first discovered it, with . But the identity is only true in the sense that and are identical with and respectively. The lengthened form of the preposition is always pronominal, and its construction similar to that of .

The mention of leads me to speak of a word which has much puzzled Coptic scholars. Literally signifying "in loco" *èr-ma* is used in ancient texts in the sense of *apud*, *cum*, *ubi*, and *ibi*. I recognise it in the Coptic ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ, ἐκεῖ, and also as a pronominal base in ⲙ̀ⲙⲟ. Peyron describes ⲙⲟ as a word "incertæ significationis." Yet if ⲙ̀ⲙⲟ be = = ἐκεῖ, ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ will be equivalent to ἐκεῖνος, "the person there," as it is in fact in Coptic; ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ = "ille ego," and so forth.

There is another very puzzling word, of the origin of

[1] Line 107.

which I am not quite as sure, but it appears extremely probable that ⲉⲣⲙⲏ (Sahidic ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ), which Peyron calls "præpositio incertæ significationis," is derived from *er-men*, *ermennu*, a word which originally signified "an arm," but is used as a preposition in the sense of "extending to," "as far as," "up to." ⲉⲣⲙⲏ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ means, then, "usque ad me," and the reflective pronoun is expressed by ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲙⲏ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ. Ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲙⲏ ⲉⲣⲟϥ signifies "his own body," somewhat in the same manner as τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ βίοτον in Sophocles[1] means "his own life."

In the later times of the language the preposition *er* [or *el*] was changed to *âu*. This phonetic change is exactly what has occurred in many words in languages derived from the Latin; *e.g.*, the French *au*, *aube*, *autel*, *cou*, *couteau*, *du*, the Spanish *otro*, &c. The Portuguese article *o* stands for *el*. Nor is this change unknown in other languages. In Greek the change of λ into υ is characteristic of the Cretan dialect, which used αὐκάν, αὐκύονα, αὔμα, αὖσος, αὐγεῖν, εὐθεῖν for ἀλκάν, ἀλκύονα, ἅλμη, ἄλσος, ἀλγεῖν, ἐλθεῖν. In Mahri كوب now stands for كلب, and اوف for الف, and the same change is found in other Semitic dialects.[2]

The inscription of Canopus uses the two forms *er-men* and *âu-men*. There is an exact parallel to this in the old French MSS., which use *altre* and *autre* indiscriminately.

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[1] Φίλον γὰρ ἐσθλὸν ἐκβαλεῖν, ἴσον λέγω
Καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ βιότον, ὃν πλεῖστον φιλεῖ.—(Œdip. Tyr. 611.

[2] See Gesenius, *Carmina Samaritana*, p. 43. Also *Thesaurus*, p. 727. *Lamed* "emollitur passim in Waw idque quiescens, v. pag. 393A. Apud Phœnices et Pœnos *al* syllaba sæpe mitigatur in (*au*) *ô* . . . . . Idem cadit in *ar* syllabam."

ON A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE ASSYRIAN CANON BELONGING TO THE REIGNS OF TIGLATH-PILESER AND SHALMANESER.

By George Smith.

Read 4th November, 1873.

Among the numerous smaller terra-cotta fragments of the British Museum Assyrian Collection, I have discovered another portion of the Canon History. The fragment belongs to a duplicate of the tablet published in page 52 of the second volume of Cuneif. Insc., and contains the remains of eleven lines of writing, belonging to the last part of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, and the reign of Shalmaneser. From the Assyrian Canon the eponym names for the reign of Shalmaneser were already known; but nothing was known of their titles, or of the events of the last complete year of Tiglath-Pileser and the whole reign of Shalmaneser.

The new fragment throws light on both these points, and besides removes all doubt as to the fact that Shalmaneser ascended the throne in B.C. 727. The titles of the eponymes in the new fragment, run in the normal order, and show no gap or irregularity whatever. The eponymes and events from B.C. 732 to 723, according to the Assyrian Canon History, now stand as follows:—

732. Eponym Nebobeluzur governor of Sihime, expedition to Damascus.

731. Eponym Nergaluballid governor of Ahizuhina, expedition to Sapiya (Chaldea).

730. Eponym Belludari governor of Bile, in the country (*that is, there was no foreign expedition*).

729. Eponym Napharili governor of Kirruri, the king took the hand of Bel (*religious ceremonies in Babylon*).

728. Eponym Durassar governor of Tushan, the king took the hand of Bel. The city Di . . . . . (*name lost, probably a revolt*).

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727. Eponym Belḫarran-bel-uẓur governor of Gozan, expedition to the city of [*name lost*] (*month and day lost*). Shalmaneser on the throne sat.
726. Eponym Merodachbaluzur governor of Amida, in the country (*that is, there was no foreign expedition*).
725. Eponym Tizkaruiqbi governor of Nineveh, expedition to the country of (*probably Palestine*).
724. Eponym Assursimuani governor of Kalzi, expedition to (*country lost*).
722. Eponym Shalmaneser king of Assyria, expedition to (*country lost*).

The important bearing on Biblical Chronology of this portion of Canon History is quite evident, as it confirms in several points the received chronology.

Two copies of the history of Tiglath-Pileser, discovered several years ago, state that the events therein recorded extend from his accession to his seventeenth year, and a new copy, which I discovered at Nimrud during the Daily Telegraph Expedition, states the same fact. Now this period extends from B.C. 745 to 729.

In these annals a great expedition to Syria and Palestine is recorded, which corresponds to the expedition mentioned in the Canon for the years B.C. 734 to 732. The account of this great expedition is imperfect, but there still remain the details of the defeat of Rezin king of Syria, the siege and conquest of Damascus, the subduing of southern Syria, the spoiling and partial captivity of the Israelites, the conquest of the Philistines, Edomites, and part of the Arabians. It is evident that this great war is the same as the one described in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, according to which Ahaz king of Judah, being attacked by the Syrians, Israelites, Philistines, and Edomites, sent to ask the aid of Tiglath-Pileser; who then came down and conquered Damascus and Palestine.

At the close of this war, the Bible tells us, Ahaz paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus; and the Assyrian account mentions him among the tributaries, giving him the name of Yauḥazi.

In connection with this war in Palestine, Tiglath-Pileser mentions, as an event which happened after the expedition, the accession of Hoshea king of Israel. Thus, according to Assyrian Inscriptions, the accession of Hoshea was in the interval from B.C. 732 to 729, and the received chronology places it in this period.

The close agreement between the contemporary Assyrian records and the Biblical Chronology, from the reign of Ahaz downwards, enables all the dates to be fixed with a fair amount of certainty; only one of the numbers in the Bible requiring rectification, the date of the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah king of Judah, 2 Kings xviii, 13, where I should read "twenty-fourth year" instead of "fourteenth year." The leading dates will then stand as follows:—

734. Ahaz attacked by Rezin king of Damascus and Pekah king of Israel, calls in Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, who makes an expedition to Palestine.
732. Tiglath-Pileser takes Damascus; Ahaz meets him there and pays tribute.
729. Pekah killed and Hoshea made king of Israel; he pays tribute to Tiglath-Pileser.
726. Accession of Hezekiah king of Judah.
725. Expedition of Shalmaneser king of Assyria against Hoshea.
722 to 720. Siege and capture of Samaria.
712. Illness of Hezekiah; embassy of Merodach Baladan king of Babylon.
711. Expedition of Sargon king of Assyria against Ashdod.
702–701. Expedition of Sennacherib king of Assyria against Hezekiah of Judah.
697. Death of Hezekiah—accession of Manasseh.
680. Tribute of Manasseh king of Judah to Esarhaddon king of Assyria.
642. Accession of Amon king of Judah.

640. Accession of Josiah king of Judah.
609. Expedition of Necho king of Egypt against Assyria—death of Josiah.
605. Battle of Carchemish—accession of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.
598. Captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah.
597. Captivity of Zedekiah king of Judah.

I have included the later dates in the list to make it more complete, but no Hebrew date below the accession of Manasseh is affected by the Assyrian annals.

Satisfactory agreement between the Bible and the Assyrian Inscriptions commences with the expedition in which Tiglath-Pileser came to the help of Ahaz. According to the Bible the reign of Ahaz, sixteen years, was from about B.C. 742 to 726, and the wars between him and Pekah commenced at the beginning of his reign; but these wars lasted some time, and, according to 2 Chron. xxviii, 17, it was after a second attack of the Edomites, when Ahaz was pressed from all sides, that he asked the aid of Tiglath-Pileser. The embassy of Ahaz may have gone to Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 735, for in B.C. 734 the Assyrian monarch came to Palestine, and concluded the campaign by the capture of Damascus in B.C. 732.

The next chronological point is the date of the death of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea at Samaria. According to the Bible, these events happened three years before the death of Ahaz, that is B.C. 729. Now the annals of Tiglath-Pileser mention these facts, and these annals extend down to his seventeenth year, that is B.C. 729, the very year, according to the Bible, of the accession of Hoshea. Some, who wish to lower the Biblical dates, have denied that the annals end at the seventeenth year of Tiglath-Pileser, and have asserted that the part recording the accession of Hoshea belongs to a later reign. I am compelled to say on this point, that the statements of the monuments are so precise and explicit, that I cannot doubt for one instant that the accession of Hoshea was about B.C. 729.

The next important event alluded to, in both the Bible and the Inscriptions, is the accession of Shalmaneser king of

Assyria. The new fragment of Canon History mentions, under the year B.C. 728, that Tiglath-Pileser was engaged in religious ceremonies in Babylonia, and then follows a broken passage, probably referring to a revolt. Under the next year, B.C. 727, we have an expedition, probably to subdue this revolt, and immediately after this the end of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser and the accession of Shalmaneser in Assyria.

The account is so defective that we cannot be sure about some points, but the most probable explanation is that Shalmaneser revolted against Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 728, and defeated and succeeded him in B.C. 727. Taking this explanation, a remarkable light is thrown on a passage in Hoshea x, 14, where the prophet warns the Israelites of their coming destruction, and says, "all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children."

It has been suggested already that this passage refers to a civil war in Assyria, and that Beth-arbel is the Assyrian city of Arbela. The part of the new fragment of Canon History which appears to refer to the revolt at the accession of Shalmaneser, confirms this opinion, and the date of the events, about seven years before the captivity of Israel, makes it probable that the prophet alluded to them. In confirmation of this, I would remark that our only royal inscription of Shalmaneser does not give his genealogy; as if he had been an usurper.

The passage in Isaiah xiv, 28–29, "In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou, whole Palestine, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken," probably refers also to the defeat and death of Tiglath-Pileser. The date of this part of Isaiah, "The year when Ahaz died," is B.C. 726, just after these events, and the power of Assyria does appear to have been broken for a time by these contests; for Shalmaneser, according to the new fragment, although he came to the throne B.C. 727, did not undertake any expedition out of the country until B.C. 725. The death of Tiglath-Pileser, in B.C. 727, just

before the death of Ahaz, confirms the established Biblical date for the latter event, B.C. 726.

According to the 2nd Book of Kings, Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Hoshea king of Israel, and the evidence of the new fragment makes it probable that this was in the year B.C. 725, when Shalmaneser made his first expedition.

The next dates in the list are the 4th and 6th of Hezekiah, corresponding with the 7th and 9th of Hoshea, for the siege and captivity of the city of Samaria. Here the agreement with the Assyrian is not quite so perfect, for although the inscriptions mention expeditions against Samaria in the years B.C. 722 and B.C. 720, which are the years referred to, the annals of both years are mutilated; and it is not certain if any continuous operations against Israel were undertaken in the interval between these expeditions. The Assyrian annals do, however, closely agree with the Bible in describing the capture and captivity of Samaria; and although the exact year of the captivity is uncertain, there is no question that it was not later than B.C. 720.

About the year B.C. 712 Hezekiah was sick, and the Bible records that soon after an embassy arrived at Jerusalem from Merodach Baladan king of Babylon, to make an alliance with Hezekiah. To defeat this scheme Sargon next year, B.C. 711, made an expedition against Palestine, and B.C. 710, drove Merodach Baladan from the throne of Babylon. After this Merodach Baladan only reigned for a few months in B.C. 704, and being defeated again by the Assyrians, fled to Elam and died there. The time of the reign of Merodach Baladan at Babylon gives us only two periods at which it is possible to fix his embassy to Hezekiah, either before B.C. 710, or during B.C. 704; I have chosen the earlier date as agreeing with the Bible chronology and the surrounding circumstances.

The statement of the prophecy of Isaiah during the illness of Hezekiah, B.C. 712, 2 Kings xx, 6, "I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria," clearly points to an Assyrian invasion, and one happened next year, B.C. 711.

In Isaiah xx we have the date, "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him) and fought against Ashdod and took it." The expedition against Ashdod, according to the Assyrian annals, was B.C. 711. The king of Ashdod had revolted, and allied himself with Judah, Edom, Moab, and Egypt. The area of the revolt is significant; the kingdom of Israel had been destroyed, and the opposition to Assyria is confined to the south of Palestine. Sargon captured Ashdod and quelled the revolt, the Egyptians affording no help to their allies.

The next important date is that of the expedition of Sennacherib king of Assyria against Hezekiah. The Assyrian annals place this B.C. 702 or 701, being about the 24th or 25th year of Hezekiah, whereas the text of the 2nd Book of Kings makes it the 14th. I would here suggest that there is an error in the number, and propose, with Dr. Hincks, to read 24th instead of 14th. Another suggestion to meet this difficulty has been proposed by Rev. A. H. Sayce, who believes that the account in the 2nd Book of Kings combines the campaign of Sargon, B.C. 711, with that of Sennacherib, ten years later.

So far as all these events are concerned, with this single rectification, they all agree with the standard system of Biblical dates; but as I have given the evidence in favour of the ordinary chronology, I feel bound to mention two difficulties which throw doubt upon it. First, it is doubtful if Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, who came up to assist Hezekiah, commenced his reign so early as B.C. 701; and second, in the palace buried under the mound of Nebbi Yunas there are records of a later campaign of Sennacherib against Palestine about the year B.C. 690. Nebbi Yunas is, however, mostly unexplored, and the fragments referring to this campaign are too imperfect at present to form a judgment upon.

The last point of contact between the discovered inscriptions and the Bible, is in the year B.C. 680. At this time Esarhaddon came against Palestine, and received tribute from Manasseh king of Judah. This is a proof that Manasseh was already on the throne at that date.

I cannot quit this subject without pointing out the curious parallel in the order of the subjects between the first thirty-seven chapters of Isaiah on one side and the Assyrian history of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib on the other.

To exhibit this I place them in opposite columns.

ISAIAH.	ASSYRIAN ANNALS.
Ch. I to VI.—During the time of Uzziah king of Judah.	B.C. 738. Tiglath-Pileser mentions Azariah (Uzziah) king of Judah.
Ch. VII to X.—Relate to the expedition of Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria against Syria and Israel, in the reign of Ahaz.	B.C. 734–732. Expedition of Tiglath-Pileser against Damascus, Israel, and Philistia, tribute of Yauḥazi (Ahaz) king of Judah.
Ch. XIII and first half of XIV.—Against Babylon.	B.C. 731. Tiglath-Pileser conquers Babylon and annexes it to Assyria.
Ch. XIV, *v.* 28 to 32.—In the year of death of Ahaz, rod of smiter broken.	B.C. 727.—Death of Tiglath-Pileser.
Ch. XV and XVI.—Against Moab.	B.C. 725.—Reign of Shalmaneser; details unknown
Ch. XVII.—Against Damascus, Aroer and Israel.	B.C. 720.—Expedition of Sargon king of Assyria against Qarqar (Aroer) Damascus, and Samaria.
	B.C. 715.—Egypt makes alliance with Assyria.
Ch. XVIII and XIX.—Against Egypt.	B.C. 712.—Egypt stirs up revolt in Palestine against Assyria.

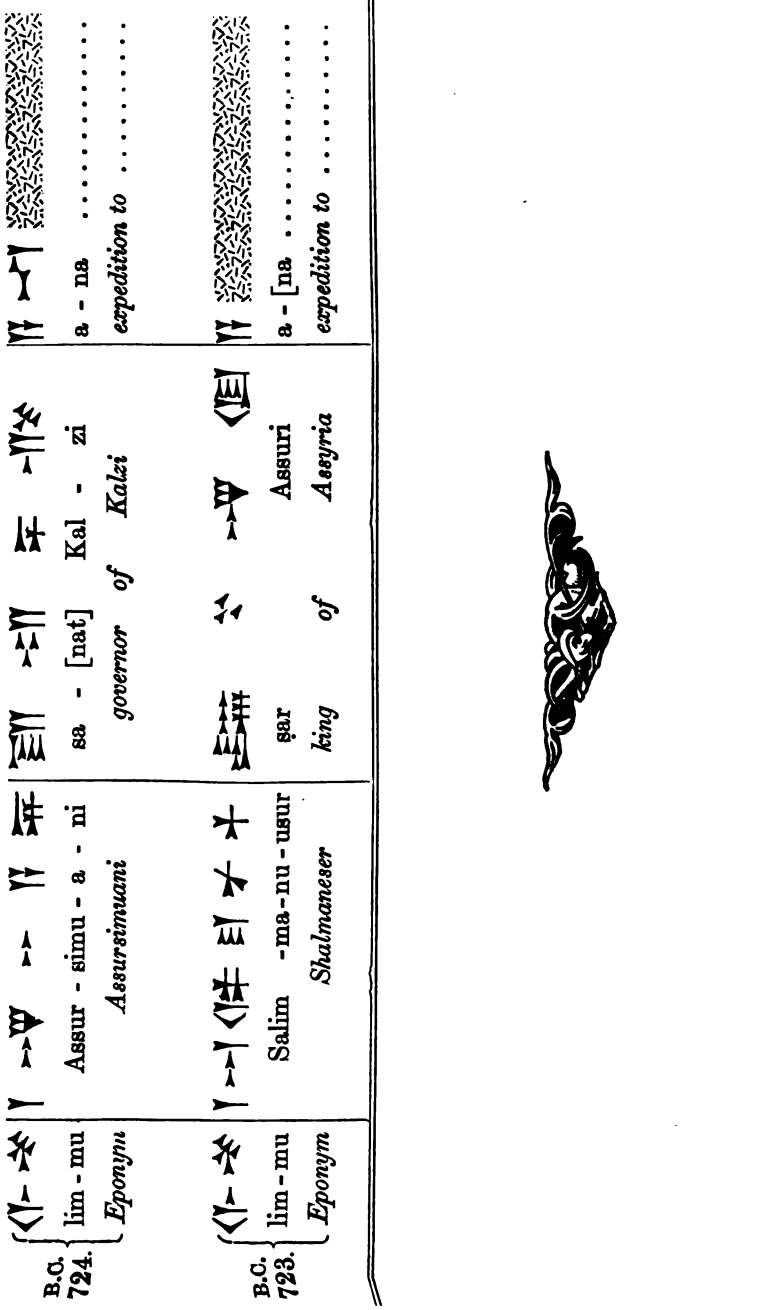
ISAIAH.	ASSYRIAN ANNALS.
Ch. XX.—In the year of capture of Ashdod, prophecy against Egypt.	B.C. 711.—Sargon takes Ashdod; king of Egypt abandons his allies.
Ch. XXI, *v.* 1 to 10.—Against Babylon.	B.C. 710.—Sargon conquers Babylon.
Ch. XXIII.—Against Tyre.	B.C. 702–1.—Phœnicia attacked by Sennacherib king of Assyria; the king flies from Tyre to Cyprus.
Ch. XXIV to XXIX.—Sennacherib's invasion.	B.C. 702–1. — Sennacherib marches through Palestine.
Ch. XXX and XXXI.—Against relying on Egypt.	B.C. 702–1.—Sennacherib defeats the Egyptian army at Eltekeh.
Ch. XXXII to XXXVII, *v.* 36.	B.C. 702–1.—Sennacherib attacks Judah.
Ch. XXXVII, *v.* 37 and 38.—Murder of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon.	B.C. 681.—Murder of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon.

In the passages relating to Babylon and in some others, later events are mentioned; some chapters I have omitted, as they have no relation to known Assyrian events of the period.

The following is an interlinear translation of the Canon History from B.C. 732 to 723, including the new fragment:—

B.C. 732.	lim - mu	Nabu - bel - uzur	sa - [nat] Ṣi - hi - me - e	a - na Di - mas - qa
	Eponym	*Nabubeluzur*	*governor of Sihime*	*expedition to Damascus*
B.C. 731.	lim - mu	Nergal - u - bal - liḍ	sa - [nat] A - ḥi - zu - ḥi - na	a - na Sa - pi - ya
	Eponym	*Nergaluballid*	*governor of Ahizuhina*	*expedition to Sapiya*
B.C. 730.	lim - mu	Bel - lu - da - ri	sa - [nat] Bel - e	i - na mati
	Eponym	*Belludari*	*governor of Bele*	*in the country (no foreign expedition)*
B.C. 729.	lim - mu	Nap - ḥar - ili	sa - [nat] Kir - ru - ri	ṣar qat Beli izbat
	Eponym	*Napharili*	*governor of Kirruri*	*the king the hand of Bel took*

B.C. 728.	lim - mu *Eponym*	Dur - assur *Durassur*	sa - [nat] Tus-ḥa-an ṣar qat Beli iẓbat Di ..... *governor of Tushan the king the hand of Bel took. Di .... [revolted (?)]*	
B.C. 727.	lim - mu *Eponym*	Bel - ḥarran - bel - uzur *Belharranbeluzur*	sa - [nat] Gu - za - na *governor of Gozan*	a - na ..... *expedition to ... [month] ... [day]*
			[Salim - ma] - nu - usur *Shalmaneser*	ina kuṣṣi [it - tu - sib] *on the throne sat.*
B.C. 726.	lim - mu *Eponym*	Maruduk - bel - uzur *Merodachbeluzur*	sa - [nat] A - mi - di *governor of Amida*	i - [na mati] *in the country (no foreign expedition)*
B.C. 725.	lim - mu *Eponym*	Tizkaru - iqbi *Tizkaruiqbi*	sa - [nat] Ninua *governor of Nineveh*	a - na ..... *expedition to .... [Palestine (?)]*


B.C. 724.
lim - mu
Eponym
Assur - simu - a - ni
Assursimuani
sa - [nat]
governor of
Kal - zi
Kalzi
a - na
expedition to
B.C. 723.
lim - mu
Eponym
Salim -ma-nu - usur
Shalmaneser
ṣar
king of
Assuri
Assyria
a - [na
expedition to

NOTE ON M. LENORMANT'S "LETTRE SUR L'INSCRIPTION DÉDICATOIRE HIMYARITIQUE DU TEMPLE DU DIEU YAT'A A ABIAN."

By Captain W. F. Prideaux, F.R.G.S., *Bombay Staff Corps.*

(*Appendix to "Discoveries in South Western Arabia," page* 1.)

Whilst my paper "On some recent discoveries in South-Western Arabia" was passing through the press, I received a copy of M. François Lenormant's *Lettres Assyriologiques et Epigraphiques*, the second volume of which contains two papers which deserve attentive consideration at the hands of all students of early Arabian history. On the present occasion I propose to devote a few lines to the subject treated in the former of these essays, which not only offers an exhaustive commentary upon the particular Himyaritic text which I have cited in the heading of this *Note*, but also forms a complete summary of the knowledge of which the world was in possession up to the publication of M. Joseph Halévy's collection of inscriptions in 1872, upon the history, language, and religion of the people of South-Western Arabia, as deduced from contemporaneous monuments.

The inscription in question formed one of seven which are stated to have been discovered amongst the ruins of Abyan, in the year 1844, by M. Gauldraud, a medical officer of the French Marine. Six of these inscriptions (including the text before us) were copied by this gentleman, whilst the

seventh (of which a transcript is given by M. Lenormant) was taken away and carried to Paris. The exact date of our inscription cannot be fixed with certainty, as will be shown further on; but, taken altogether, it forms one of the most important specimens of epigraphic writing of which we have any knowledge. To Englishmen, its chief interest centres in the fact that it is a record of a votive offering to the god Yatha'^{m}, the tutelary deity of 'Aden, and that it forms a valuable piece of evidence in corroboration of the testimony of the ancient geographers concerning the power and greatness of that city in early times. There cannot be a doubt that, with the exception of the passage in Ezekiel (xxvii, 23), this slab is the earliest memorial we possess of a port which, after the lapse of ages, bids fair, under British auspices, to regain its former prominent position as the connecting link between East and West.

The exact locality in which this interesting relic was discovered, and the manner in which it was obtained, are not indicated by M. Lenormant. The district of Abyan, which is said to derive its name from a son of Ḥimyar, and which is included by a very early writer, Al-'Abbâsî, amongst the forty provinces of Yemen, is situated immediately to the north-east of 'Aden, and is celebrated for its productiveness. After being possessed for many years by the Yâffa'î tribe, it fell into the hands of the Ahl-Fadhl in the year 1839. It is known to possess many memorials of the olden time, but the country has never been explored by any European, and, with the exception of waifs and strays, such as the present tablet and one or two in the British Museum (Nos. 29 and 35),[1] no monuments have ever been brought to light.

A very carefully drawn facsimile of M. Gauldraud's inscription has been given by M. Lenormant, but it contains so many errors that at first sight it appears undecypherable. A very short study, however, shows that these are attributable to the fact that the copyist was unacquainted with the Himyaritic character, and has accordingly made few or no distinctions between those letters which possess some slight

[1] The British Museum tablets will be cited by the numbers they bear in the work published by the Trustees in 1863.

resemblance to each other. 𐩪 and 𐩫, 𐩢 and 𐩠, 𐩲 and 𐩥, 𐩺 and 𐩤, 𐩴 and 𐩡, for instance, are all represented by one character, the first; while 𐩣 has in nearly every place lost the perpendicular stroke. After the necessary corrections are made, a matter which presents no difficulty, the text stands thus:—

M. Lenormant translates the inscription as follows:—

"Abd-Schams Asslam, eunuque de nôtre seigneur le tobbâ Schourahbil, roi de Saba, et son frère Mart'ad, esclave du roi, fils de Wal, serviteur et esclave des rois de Saba, ont consacré le temple de Yat'â et ont construit un autel de sacrifices à Yat'â, dans le jour de Nouf, dans l'année de Samahâli fils de Ilascharh fils de Samahâli, parceque Yat'â les a exaucés conformément à leur prière, parceque Yat'â les a préservés—et il maintiendra cette promesse qu'il a faite. Et ils ont offert à Yat'â seigneur de Âden leur présent et leur offrande, un poids d'or et d'argent, de métal en lingots et d'espèces monnayées, pour leur propre salut et le salut de nôtre ville de Âden, de nôtre château ici présent de Abian, de ses seigneurs et de leur roi, ainsi que pour leur heureuse fortune. Au nom de Ât'tor, au nom de Haoubas, au nom de Il maqah, au nom de Yat'â, au nom de Dhat-Hhami, au nom de Dhat-Bâdan, et au nom des dieux et déesses de nôtre cité de Âden."

I submit the following, though with considerable diffidence, as a more correct version:—

"'Abd-Shems^{m} Aṣlam (the crop-eared), a eunuch of our lord Tobba' Sharaḥbīl king of Sabä, and his brother Marthad^{m} a slave of the King, the sons of Wäl a servant and slave of the Kings of Sabä, have consecrated a house to Yatha'^{m} and have erected an altar [*lit.* a place for sacrifices] for Yatha'^{m} on the day of Naf, in the year of Samah'alî the son of Il-sharaḥ the son of Samah'alî, because Yatha'^{m} has heard them in accordance with their prayers, inasmuch as Yatha' has preserved them (*or*, kept them safe and sound); and may he maintain this, his augury! and they have endowed Yatha'^{m}, the lord of 'Aden, their patron and their tutelary-god, with weighty offerings of gold and silver, of ingots and coined money, in consideration of their safety and the safety of this city of 'Aden, and of this very house of (*i.e.*, in) Abyan^{m}, and of its lords, and of their King, and in consideration of their prosperity. In the name of 'Athtor and of Haubas and of Il-Maḳah and of Yatha'^{m} and of Dhât-Himä^{m} and of Dhât-Ba'dan^{m} and of the gods and goddesses of this city of 'Aden."

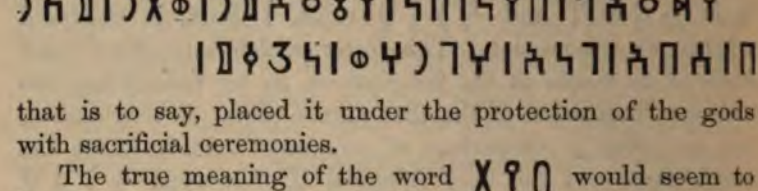
There are a few passages which need a word or two of explanation :—

Line 1. 𐩨𐩲𐩡𐩬.—The statement made by M. Lenormant in his commentary on the inscription relative to the final 𐩬 in 𐩨𐩲𐩡𐩬 and 𐩠𐩴𐩧𐩬 must, I think, be accepted with some reservation. This letter, which is so often found suffixed to words in the inscriptions, so far from being the ordinary indication of the first person plural, is very seldom so; and from a comparison of numerous texts in which the word occurs, I am very doubtful if the word 𐩠𐩴𐩧𐩬 (lines 11 and 15) should ever be translated "*our* city." I am disposed to view the 𐩬 rather as a demonstrative enclitic, the force of which is intensified in the word 𐩨𐩺𐩬𐩩𐩬𐩠𐩬 (line 12) by the addition of 𐩬𐩺. This 𐩬 is sometimes combined with the actual demonstrative pronoun 𐩹𐩬 as in 𐩹𐩬𐩵𐩣𐩬𐩵𐩬 (*B. M. passim*), and sometimes it stands by itself, as in 𐩣𐩪𐩡𐩣𐩬 (*B. M.* 29). It may, in fact, be said in some degree to possess the power of the definite article in Arabic, *e.g.*, الرجل, هذا الرجل, *the* man, *this* man.

Line 4. 𐩴𐩬𐩪𐩥.—The primary meaning of the Æthiopic verb ገነየ is *pronum se inclinavit*, thence *humiliter rogavit*, *supplicavit*, and finally, *grato animo laudavit Deum*. In like manner the word 𐩬𐩡𐩪 which so frequently occurs in M. Halévy's inscriptions, appears to be akin to the Arabic ذلي, *humilis* et *submissus fuit*. The signification which the word 𐩴𐩬𐩪 bears in Himyaritic, both in its verbal and substantival forms, is easily deduced from the derivative Æthiopic term, ገናዊ *sacerdos idolorum, sacrificulus.*

Line 4. 𐩨𐩺𐩩.—I have translated the word 𐩨𐩺𐩩, which occurs in two places, and which M. Lenormant has rendered *temple* in the fourth line and *château* in the twelfth, by the simple equivalent *house*. We first of all find the word in its indefinite form, 𐩨𐩺𐩩, *a house;* afterwards in its strongly demonstrative form, 𐩨𐩺𐩩𐩬𐩠𐩬, *this very house;* and I consider it to be beyond dispute that the same building is referred to in both passages. The term 𐩴𐩬𐩪𐩥, *they consecrated*, offers no support to the hypothesis that 𐩨𐩺𐩩 must here be translated *temple*, for we find in

Halévy's inscriptions from Al-Baidha (Nos. 280, *sqq.*) that Yada'-īl Bayyin, the son of Yatha' ämir Watr, Makrab of Sabä, consecrated his city of Nashḳ:



that is to say, placed it under the protection of the gods with sacrificial ceremonies.

The true meaning of the word ፪ ፡ ፩ would seem to be, not a castle or fortified building, as Osiander suggests, but a house to which a private chapel is attached. We will suppose the house to be built and ready for occupation: in this chapel or *delubrum*, a statue of the divinity who forms the special object of the worship of the family, is erected, and after sacrifices have been offered, and gifts presented, the building and its inmates are formally given over to the protection of this god, or, Himyaricè, ፡ ፡ ፡. In the inscription which I have quoted above, Yada'īl Bayyin does this on a larger scale with regard to the city of Nashḳ, of which we may presume he was the founder.

In the work called *Abushaker*, which was composed by an ecclesiastic of that name in the monastery of Ma'alḳa, in Egypt, about the year 1258 A.D., and which was afterwards translated into Geëz, we find the expression:

ቀይጡኑ ፡ አውታን ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ብሂል ፡ ቤተ ፡ ጣዖታት ፡

"A little shrine or niche (*conclave*) for images which is called the house of idols." The word አውታን in this passage is an Æthiopic reproduction of the Arabic أوثان (plur. of وثن), which is generally represented in Himyaritic by ፡ ፡ ፡, but which appears in its Æthiopic form in my inscription No. VI, where we find the expression ፡ ፡ ፡ ፡ ፡, *lord of images.* The *ædes* or *delubrum* attached to the dwelling-house of a Sabæan chief was the ቤተ ፡ ጣዖታት of the Æthiopic chronologist.

The proper word for a castle or fortified building is ፡ ፡ ፡ ፡, which we find so often in the inscriptions of M. Halévy, and which is equivalent to the Æthiopic

ግሓፈ, *a tower.* Al-Hamdânî uses the word frequently in this sense, both in the singular and plural, ملحفد, ملحافد, *e.g.*,

حضرموت و ملحافدها دمور لحمير و لحمر لبني معدي
كرب من كندة و شبوة ما بين بيحان و حضرموت و خورة فيها
كندة اليوم و تريم موضع الملوك من بني عمرو ابن معوية منهم
ابوالخير بن عمرو الوافد علي كسري يستمد

"Ḥadhramaut and its fortified palaces: Damûr belonging to Ḥimyar, and Labair[1] (?) to the sons of Ma'dî-Karib from the race of Kindah, and Shabwah (*Sabota*), which is between Baiḥân and Ḥadhramaut, and Khaurah, in which there is the race of Kindah at this day and Terîm, the place of the kings of the race of Benî-'Amru, the son of Mo'awiyah, from whom sprung Abu-l-Khair, the son of 'Amru, who sent to the king of Persia (the Kesra or Chosroes) for assistance." In employing this term Al-Hamdânî appears to have borrowed an indigenous Himyaritic vocable, as the word is not found in Arabic. Similarly, in another place, he describes Bainûn as هجرعظيمه, a large *hajar* or city.

Line 8. ኻ ፡ ◊ ⊕ ሄ ፡.—Contrary to the opinion of Osiander and Ewald, I cannot help thinking that the final ኻ in such verbal forms as this is indicative of the optative or subjunctive rather than of the aorist. This ኻ is elided in proper names, *e.g.*, ሐገ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ፡, ሐገ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ፡, ገ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ፡, etc., but when there is a wish expressed with reference to the subject-matter of an inscription, it is retained, as in the common formula: ፡ ኻ ᎾᏂ ገ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ ᎾᏂ

Line 9. ⊕ ☿ ☠ ⊓ ☖ ☒.—This word, which I have translated "augury," appears from its etymology to signify a thing, which having happened once, may be predicted to occur again. The votaries, 'Abd Shems and Marthad, having once seen their prayer fulfilled, regard the favour of the god as a happy omen, and confidently look forward to a recurrence of their good fortune.

Lines 9–10. ⊕ ▯ ☿ ☒ ◇ ⌶ ⊕ | ⊕ ☿ ▯ ☤ ⌶.—This phrase occurs for the first time in this inscription, although we find the two words placed separately in several texts. M. Lenormant translates the passage: "their present and their offering." The true meaning can, however, be easily determined from the signification of the word ▯ ☤ ⌶, which invariably denotes a "patron," and is equivalent to the Æthiopic ሠፈመ *præpositus*, and the Amharic *Sham*, a term comprehending all grades of officials from the governor of a province to the headman of a village. The word ▯ ☤ ⌶ meaning a "patron" or "tutelary god," frequently occurs in Himyaritic, *e.g.*, *B.M.* 4, "they have endowed their patron Il-Maḳah with a tablet," *H.* 485, "and he renewed for Nakraḥ their patron all the roofs ◇ ☤ ☠ (سقف) . . ." &c. In the ninth Inscription of Arnaud, the same term is applied to the god 'Athtor, who is called ☒ ☒ ☤ ⌶, either "*the* patron," *par excellence*, or *their* patron, ☒ being a contracted form of ⊕ ☒ ☿, as in ☒ ⊓ ☠ ☠ ☒, "their prayer."

This word is derived from a verbal root common to all the Semitic languages, of which the primary signification is *posuit*. Another derivative is the form ☒ ▯ ☤ ⌶ ▯ (*B.M.* 7 and 9, where it occurs in conjunction with ⊟) ☠), which is wrongly translated by Lenormant as "le lieu où ils ont établis." The correct version is "their storehouses," ☒ ▯ ☤ ⌶ ▯ being equivalent to ሠፈመ, which we find with this signification in the Æthiopic translation of the sacred writings (Job xxxviii, 22). M. Lenormant also calls attention to the interesting tablet in the British Museum, No. 36, where we see the verb employed in the feminine dual form ☤ ☒ ▯ ⌶.

The word ☒ ◇ ⌶ which follows is, as M. Lenormant

points out, obviously akin to the Hebrew שָׂפַת *posuit.*[1] He has cited some passages in which the word occurs as a verb in the third person singular of the preterite tense (thrice masculine, once feminine), but he omits to notice the expression [illegible], where we can scarcely doubt it is used substantively. I am of opinion that it must be accepted here as nearly synonymous with [illegible], that is to say, a divinity to whom a votive offering is dedicated. The proper expression for the offering itself would, on the analogy of other Semitic languages, be [illegible].

Lines 10–11. [illegible].—There is little doubt that the translation given by M. Lenormant of this phrase, "ingots and coined money," is correct. The original meaning of [illegible] (*Æth.* [illegible]) was, however, "gold," from its yellow colour, and the signification of "coin" is quite a secondary one. In the Amharic language at the present day, the less precious metal affords a designation for money in general, the probable reason being that gold coins are no longer current in Abyssinia.

Lines 13 *sqq.*—There is little to add to M. Lenormant's ingenious remarks upon the theogony of the ancient Sabæans, but attention may be drawn to the form [illegible], following [illegible], which occurs in the 150th inscription of M. Halévy (No. 7 of Medînet-Haram). I cannot understand M. Lenormant's difficulty with respect to the etymology of the name of the solar god, Haubas. Fresnel was undoubtedly right in translating the name by "Siccator,"[2] and referring it to the verb יָבֵשׁ as an etymon. His mistake lay in not properly appreciating the value of the initial H, which he supposed was identical with the Hebrew article. In point of fact, there is no question of the permutation of י and ו in this word. It is a simple derivation from the Hiphil form of יָבֵשׁ, namely, הוֹבִישׁ, a word used frequently in the Old Testament, and invariably with the signification *to dry up*, or *dessécher*. יָבֵשׁ is, as remarked by Fresnel, the intransitive form, *être sec.*

[1] Cf. the use of this word in Isaiah xxvi, 12.

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, IV Série, Tome VI, p. 236.

M. Lenormant is probably right in his derivation of the name of the goddess 𐩣𐩺𐩣𐩢𐩩𐩹, ذات الحمًا. The Baron McGuckin de Slane, in his notes to his translation of Ibn Khallikân, says (Vol. I, p. 123): "Among the ancient Arabs, the shaikhs reserved for their own use a certain portion of ground near the camp; this was called the *Hima*, or *forbidden spot*, and no other dare feed his flocks or hunt in it. Later poets designate by this word the spot where the beloved is supposed to reside; and mystic writers call Heaven *the Hima*, because God, the object of love, dwells there." The *temenos* in which the Himyaritic goddess resided was rather a celestial than an earthly one.

The attributes of the sister goddess 𐩣𐩬𐩵𐩲𐩨𐩩𐩹, may be referred, with a not dissimilar signification, to the root بَعِدَ.

The date of the Abyan inscription is uncertain. M. Lenormant has endeavoured to fix it as early as the year 100 B.C., but his arguments, which are principally based on the hypothesis that the rupture of the Dyke of Mârib was anterior to the time at which the Erythræan *Periplus* was written, do not appear to be conclusive. The mere fact that the city of Mârib is not mentioned in that work is not surprising, as it only professes to give a description of the coast; and there is every reason to believe that the Arab writers are in error when they state that there was a succession of capitals in the Himyarite kingdom, viz., Mârib, Zhafâr, and San'â. Eratosthenes, in Strabo, informs us that Arabia Felix was divided into four distinct governments, and we learn on the authority of Ḥamza of Ispahan, one of the most trustworthy of the old annalists, that up to the time of Ḥârith Ar-Râyish there were two kings, one of whom reigned in Sabä, the other in Ḥadhramaut, and that even these two were not universally obeyed by the inhabitants of Yemen.[1] Nothing is more probable than that under the successors of that monarch things reverted to their former status, and that from time to time various provinces of the empire were ruled by princes who were enabled to assume the regal title

[1] Ed. Gottwaldt, 844, ١٢٤.

as the fruit of a successful revolt. One of the four governments of Strabo was undoubtedly the great kingdom of [illegible] (*Minæi*); the second was that of [illegible] (*Sabæi*) and [illegible] (*Homeritæ*), the sovereignty over which was at the date of the *Periplus* united in the person of Charibael (*Kariba-ïl*); the third was that of [illegible] (*Chatramotitæ*); and the fourth that of [illegible] (*Catabani*).[1] Seeing, therefore, that the country was from a very early period cut up into so many monarchies, I cannot but consider the theory advanced by M. Lenormant, namely, that there was one consolidated kingdom in Yemen up to the date of the rupture of the Dyke, to be wholly untenable; and that there are far better grounds for supposing that the principal stem of the Ḳaḥṭanide Sabæan family (*Malik Sabā wa Dhu-Raidân*) was settled at Zhafâr (where we know the royal mint was situated, and which is expressly termed *metropolis* by the writer of the *Periplus*), and that Mârib was governed as a dependency by a junior branch, who enjoyed the title of *Makrab Sabā*. Nor does the designation *ἔνθεσμος βασιλεὺς*, given by the *Periplus* to Charibael, lend colour to the supposition that in the time of that sovereign the united kingdom of Sabä and Ḥimyar was in its decadence. The glowing accounts of that prince's power handed down to us by the Greek writer are fully corroborated by the inscription which attests the greatness of *Kariba-ïl Yehan'am*, the restorer of the mighty buildings in the neighbourhood of Mârib, which are known as the Ḥaram of Bilḳîs.

In my former paper on this subject I endeavoured to show that the *Ἰλάσαρος* of Strabo, and the Il-Sharaḥ of the Mârib inscriptions were one and the same person, and that Kariba-ïl Watr Yehan'am was identical with the *Χαριβαὴλ* of the *Periplus*. In the genealogical table which I drew up there was a name missing between Il-Sharaḥ and Dhamar'alî

[1] The four kingdoms are described by Theophrastus as follows: *γίνεται μὲν οὖν ὁ λίβανος καὶ ἡ σμύρνα καὶ ἡ κασία καὶ ἔτι τὸ κινάμωμον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων Χερρονήσῳ περί τε Σαβὰ καὶ Αδράμυττα καὶ Κιτίβαινα καὶ Μάλι* (? *Μάνι*)—Hist. Plant. ix, 4. The LXX translate מְעוּנִים (2 Chron. xxvi, 7, A.V. *Mehunims*) by *Μιναίους*, and if the passage refers, as Michaëlis conjectures, to the Minæi of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, the autonomy of the tribe must have dated from very ancient times. Cf. also Judges x, 12.

Bayyin, the father of Kariba-īl Watr. This lacuna can, I think, be satisfactorily filled up by the name of Sharaḥbīl, the king of the Abyan inscription. M. Lenormant rightly says, when referring to Caussin de Perceval's identification of the king Dhu-l-Adhâr with *'Ιλάσαρος*, "que le rejet de la conjecture onomastique . . . [ne] doive [pas] entrainer nécessairement et absolument la chute de son opinion historique." The tradition of a foreign invasion in the reign of Dhu-l-Adhâr certainly lends weight to the hypothesis that this prince is the *'Ιλάσαρος* of Strabo and the Il-Sharaḥ of the inscriptions. We also know that according to the Arab writers the successor of Dhu-l-Adhâr was Sharaḥbīl,[1] who is stated by some historians to have been the son of his predecessor, but who probably belonged to a collateral branch of the Ḳaḥṭanide family. Without, however, discussing the question further, I think it may be taken as proved that the date of the inscription must be ascribed to a period not far removed from the Christian era; and from the epithet) ገ ሃ we learn that 'Aden at this time was a large and important city. A few years later, as we are assured by the writer of the *Periplus*, the port was destroyed by the Roman Emperor, and had rapidly descended to the rank of an insignificant village, whose value solely rested upon the facilities it possessed for watering vessels.

[1] Ḥamza of Ispahan and a few other writers call the prince Sharaḥîl, a name met with in M. Halévy's inscription, No. 504, in the preterite and optative forms, ገአ ሣ)ን and ገአ ሣ)ን የ. The first part of this name is probably identical with the Æthiopic ሠርኀ *splendor igneus, quo circumfusum numen divinum apparet; gloria Dei;* or a cognate verb, ሠርሐ *prosperum successum dare.* As no such divinity as ገአ ቦ Bīl or Bāl, exists, to the best of my knowledge, in any Oriental theogony, I can only translate the name ገአ ቦ ሣ)ን by *splendens*, aut *prosper, fuit per Deum;* but I so strongly doubt whether the verb ሣ)ን could in its first conjugation be applied to a mortal, that I prefer suggesting that an error may have crept into the copy of the inscription made by M. Gauldraud, and that the correct transcript of the word should have been ገአ ሣ)ን *Deus splendens fuit* aut *prosperavit.* I am aware that the form ገአ ቦ ሣ)ን occurs in the Ḥisn-Ghorâb inscription, but this is only one of the many difficulties which attend the interpretation of that text, and the copy we have in our possession cannot be regarded as authoritative.

Of Yatha'[m], the tutelary god of 'Aden, we know nothing except that his attribute appears to be that of a Saviour or Preserver (יֵשַׁע).[1] The word is found not only in proper names, as in [illegible], but (probably as a verbal form) in the common designation of the kings of Sabä, [illegible], and in the surname of several kings of Ma'n, in M. Halévy's inscriptions. In the British Museum Series, No. 8, we find it as the proper name of a man, Yatha'[m] the son of Marthad[m].

Of the views expressed by M. Lenormant on the subject of a graduated hierarchy of official personages attached to the Court of the King of Sabä, I will say nothing beyond remarking that, as he saw cause whilst writing his paper to alter the opinions he at first entertained with respect to the [illegible], I feel no doubt that a perusal of M. Halévy's inscriptions will cause him similarly to modify his conception of the position of the [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]. I must, however, in conclusion, whilst acknowledging the high interest of this important contribution to our scanty stock of knowledge upon the antiquities of Arabia, express the gratification which I personally feel in discovering that the conclusion at which I lately arrived with regard to the value of the inscriptions and other ancient monuments of Yemen, as compared with the testimony of the Arab historians, so far meets with the concurrence of M. Lenormant, that I find I have been unintentionally guilty of a plagiarism, in thought, if not in exact expression, as the following passage will attest:—"On ne peut pas plus faire l'histoire de la monarchie Sabéenne avec les récits traditionnels des écrivains musulmans, que notre histoire de l'époque Carlovingienne avec les chansons de geste du cycle épique de Charlemagne."

[1] This verbal root is found in the names of *Joshua* or *Jesus*, of the prophets *Isaiah* and *Hosea*, and of the Moabitish king *Mesha*. It also occurs as a Phœnician name in the sixth intaglio published by the Count de Vogüé (*Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 111).

ON THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE ASSYRIANS. No. IV.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 2nd December, 1873.

Future Punishment of the Wicked.

I have shown in my previous papers that the Assyrians believed that the spirits of just men rose to heaven, to the company of the gods. It remains to learn, what was the fate of the wicked? A recent ingenious writer[1] has asserted, that in the Assyrian Hades "*there appears no trace, as far as we know, of a distinction of rewards and punishments.*"[2]

It will be my object in this paper to prove the contrary, and to show that the souls of the wicked were believed to be tormented in flames.

Some lines in the "Legend of Ishtar" have led me to this conclusion; but the passage is so short, and so much injured by fractures of the tablet, that I missed the meaning of it in my former translation. I there said that Ishtar saw "*the shades of those who did evil on earth, men, women, and children.*" But if this were all it would only show that the souls of the wicked were so far punished that they were immured in Hades, and excluded from heaven.

Mr. Smith in his recent translation says that Ishtar was a personage of very loose moral character (as appears from divers other tablets) and she had mortally offended Ninkigal (the Queen of Hades) by the violence of her conduct and language. Therefore the Queen "resolved on consigning

[1] Lenormant, le Déluge, p. 25.

[2] Un enfer où n'apparait pas—du moins dans ce que nous en connaissons—de trace d'une distinction de récompenses et de peines.

Ishtar to the region reserved for husbands (or lords) who leave their wives, and wives (or slaves) who depart from the bosom of their husbands—certainly, according to the story, a most appropriate place for the fickle goddess."

This explanation appears to me quite correct. Ishtar was doomed for her sins to share the punishment of these wicked ones. But what was it? Not merely an imprisonment in Hades. A careful examination of each word and letter of the injured text gives the following meaning.

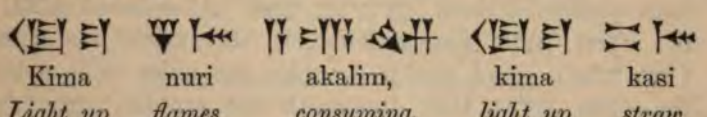
The Queen had just received a message of defiance from Ishtar, mingled with bitter curses. On receiving it she stormed, and exclaimed:

LINE
32. This insult I will revenge upon her!
33. Light up consuming flames! Light up blazing straw!
34. Let her doom be with the husbands who deserted their wives!
35. Let her doom be with the wives who from their husband's side departed!
36. Let her doom be with the youths who led dishonoured lives!

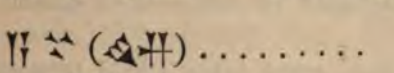
I may observe that line 33, savage as it is, accords with the furious character of Ninkigal, who a little further on (lines 69 to 75) according to Mr. Smith's version, commands her attendant spirit to torment Ishtar with pains and diseases in all parts of her body.

It will now be necessary minutely to examine the lines I have quoted, since they involve so important a point of Assyrian religious belief.

The first line is—

33. 

Kima	nuri	akalim,	kima	kasi
Light up	*flames*	*consuming,*	*light up*	*straw*



ashatim . . . . . .
blazing [some words lost]

NOTES.—*Kima.* I took this at first for the adverb *kima* 'like' or 'as it were.' But this produces only a very feeble meaning. Besides, a verb is wanted. *Kima* is 'to burn': for example, in 3 R 52, 34 we read *as kum ikimi* 'in fire shall be burnt.'

The verb *akmu* 'I burned' occurs continually. *Nakmut* is 'a burning,' *ex. gr.* speaking of the destruction of the enemy's cities—*kutar nakmuti-sun* 'the smoke of their burning,' like a mighty cloud, obscured the face of high heaven.

The verb *kamû* 'to burn' occurs in 2 R 34, 69 and 35, 15 where it is explained, *first* by the verb *sarabu* which is the Heb. שרפ 'to burn,' and *secondly* by the verb *kalû* which is the Heb. קלה 'to burn,' see my Glossary No. 312. And meaning 'fire' is generally transcribed as *kum* (see Smith's Phonetic Values, No. 179). For these reasons I propose to translate *kima* in this passage 'burn!' or 'set on fire!' *Nuri* 'flames.' If we turn to the sign in Smith's phonetic values No. 324 we find that *nuru* 'fire' was one of its values.

Akalim 'consuming' is the pure Hebrew אכל consumpsit, absumpsit, perdidit, see Schindler p. 72, and particularly the following: "De igne metaphorice dicitur, Job i, 16. Ignis Dei decidit ex cælo, et arsit in grege et pueris ותאכלם et consumpsit eos. Again, Nahum iii, 15, תאכלך אש comedet te ignis.

Kassi is plural of the Hebrew קש *Kas* 'straw,' meaning therefore heaps or loads of straw. Compare Isaiah xlvii, 14, 'see they are become as straw, (כ קש) the fire hath consumed them אש שרפתם. Also Isaiah v, 24, 'as fire (לשון אש lingua flammæ) devoureth the stubble' (אכל קש). And Joel ii, 5, 'like the noise of a flame of fire (להב אש) that devoureth the stubble,' אכלה־קש. And Nahum i, 10, 'they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry' אכלו כ־קש.

Ashat is the Heb. אשת *ashat*, Chald. אשתא *ashta* 'fire.' I have gone into these details that it may be seen that this line agrees throughout with the Hebrew idiom.

The next line 34 is as follows:—

lupki ana itli sha ezibu
let her doom be with the husbands who abandoned

* . . . . . .
their wives.

NOTES.—*Lupki* is the optative of the verb פגע which means in Hebrew, to meet some one by chance: to occur: to happen: to befall some one (Schindler 'casu occurrere') whence the substantive פגע chance, lot, fate, or doom. פגע רע means 'occursus malus' (Buxt.) a mischance or misfortune. Solomon says to Hiram (1 Kings v, 4) "The Lord my God hath given me rest on every side, so that I have no enemy and no misfortune" פגע רע. I therefore translate *lupki* 'may her lot be!'

sounded *itlu*, which generally means *man* or *gentleman;* and may be rendered *Herr: Sieur: Signor.*

Ezib is the Hebrew verb עזב to leave or abandon. It occurs very frequently. Gesenius renders it 'reliquit: deseruit.' is the feminine sign, and was not sounded.

The next line 35 is—

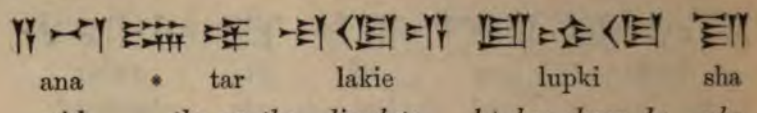
lupki ana * killati sha
let her doom be with the wives who

ta ur khairi-sin
from their husband's side [departed].

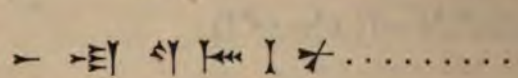
NOTES.—*Killati* 'wives' occurs in several passages. It is the Heb. כלת sponsa, uxor, Syr. כלתא. is not sounded.

Ur may be rendered *Conjugium:* it occurs in several other passages. The verb is lost by a fracture of the tablet.

The next line 36 is—



ana	•	tar	lakie	lupki	sha
with		*the youths*	*dissolute*	*let her doom be*	*who*



as	la	parri-sun	. . . . .
in	*their*	*dishonour*	[were cut off, or died].

NOTES.—*Lakie* should probably be *la-kini* 'wicked,' a word of frequent occurrence. *Parri* is the Hebrew פאר Honour. Schindler says *Decor. Ornatus.* Hence *la-parri* is 'dishonour.'

In Dante's Inferno the different classes of sinners were separated, in circles or regions apart from each other, where they met with punishments appropriate to their sins. Some Eastern traditions of this kind may have reached the Italian poet, since there was a region set apart in the Assyrian Hades for faithless husbands and wives.

I will now turn to some other passages which appear to me to imply a future punishment of the wicked.

The Sun, who was "the Judge of Men," is called "the destroyer of the wicked." And what this future judgment would be, may be inferred from a passage in the third Michaux Stone, col. 4, 11, where it is said "the remover of this landmark shall be accursed," and "the Sun, the great Judge of heaven and earth shall condemn him and shall thrust him into the fire."

The original passage is as follows:—

1. . . . . .

Shems daian rabu shamie u kiti
The Sun judge great of heaven and earth

2.

lu-dina din-su-ma ina
may he judge his judgment, and into

parti lizzitzu!
the fire thrust him!

Parti is an oblique case or inflexion of *Par*, which I consider to be the Hebrew בער "fire," in Greek *Πυρ*. But this meaning of the word cannot be guaranteed until more examples of it have been found.

The same passage occurs, with a slight difference, in the first Michaux Stone, col. iii, line 15, as follows:.

1.

Shems daian rabu shamie u kiti
The Sun judge great of heaven and earth

2.

lu-dinnu din-su-ma as parti
may he judge his judgment, and into the fire

3.

lizzitzu!
may he thrust him!

Here I transcribe the word as *parti* on the faith of the third Michaux Stone: otherwise the reading would have been doubtful.

Lizzitz "let him thrust" occurs frequently in the accounts of the exorcizing evil spirits. For example, see the 2nd vol, of British Museum Inscriptions, pl. 18. "Let the Evil Spirit come out of him, and be thrust aside." *Udukku sinu litzi-ma, as akhati lizzitz.*

The last word is written [illegible] as in the first Michaux. The sign [illegible] *ziz* or *zitz* occurs very frequently. The third Michaux, it will be observed, has [illegible] *zi.tzu*

HYMNS TO AMEN.

By C. W. Goodwin, M.A.

Read 2nd December, 1873.

The Hymn to Amen, of which I read a translation to the Society in May 1873, and which is published in the Transactions of that year, p. 250, consists of little more than high sounding epithets of the god, some of them containing allusions to mythological stories not very intelligible, and strung together without any obvious law of connexion. Some specimens of hymns exist which have a more devotional and sentimental character, and bear a nearer relation to the noble models of Hebrew psalmody. One such hymn contained in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 2, has been lately translated by M. Chabas, and is entitled by him a prayer against the partiality of judges. I offer the following translation, which differs a little from that of M. Chabas. The text is considerably mutilated, and some of my restorations are different from those of my learned friend.

Hymn to Amen.

(2 Anastasi, page 8, line 5, to page 9, line 1.)

"Oh! Amen, lend thine ear to him who is alone before the tribunal, he is poor (he is not)[1] rich. The court

[1] I suppose the words wanting here to be .

oppresses him; silver and gold for the clerks of the book,[1] garments for the servants.[2] There is no other[3] Amen, acting as a judge, to deliver (one) from his misery; when the poor man is before the tribunal, (making) the poor to go forth[4] rich."

The three following lines, translated by M. Chabas, belong in my opinion to another piece, being divided from what precedes by the mark , which is used frequently in this papyrus to denote the beginning of a new subject. This hymn extends from line 2 of page 9 to the first word of page 10. Then comes another marking the beginning of a new piece, which extends to the end of the papyrus.

Of these two hymns I propose to give a translation.

Hymn to Amen.

(2 Anastasi, page 9, line 2, to page 10, line 1.)

"I cry, the beginning of wisdom is the way of Amen, the rudder of[5] (truth?). Thou art he that giveth bread to him who has none, that sustaineth the servant of

---

[1] The character (not as I think) stands for or a book, roll, or register. See 5 Anast. $\frac{2}{1}$.

[2] M. Chabas reads a word not found elsewhere. The word seems to me to be *shesu*, servants.

[3] I read .

[4] The word *senni* is perceptible here. The meaning is rather uncertain. It is probably the Coptic CEΠ or CIΠE exire, egredi extra.

[5] The words are ..... The word after *hemi*, "rudder," is lost. These same words form the beginning of a hymn contained in one of the Ostraca of the British Museum (Pl. XXVI, No. 5656*a*, line 10). The rest of this hymn differs entirely from that in 2 Anast.

his house. Let[1] no prince be my defender in all my troubles. Let not my memorial[2] be placed under the power of any man who is in the house .... My lord is (my) defender; I know his power, to wit, (he is) a strong defender, there is none mighty except him alone. Strong is Amen, knowing how to answer, fulfilling the desire[3] of him who cries to him; the Sun the true king of gods, the strong bull, the mighty lover of power (?)"

The phrase which I have translated "the way of Amen" is *mu Amen*, literally the water of Amen. In Egypt the river Nile was the great road or highway, hence by an easy metaphor "the water" was used to signify "the way," that is, the will, command, or rule. M. Brugsch has given several illustrations of this use of the word in his Lexicon, page 635. The following examples occur in the Miramar Stèle, Plate XLIII, a very remarkable but difficult text, which has not obtained the attention it deserves. The lady of whom this stèle is the memorial was a devout worshipper of Hathor. In line 2 she says—

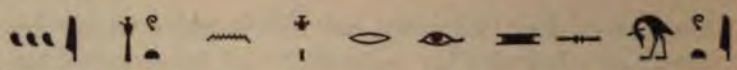
Shim n.a ha maten ent Hathor sheftu.s pu chet

---

[1] The words are . A very similar phrase occurs in the hymn on the Ostracon, quoted in the previous note (No. 5656*a* reverse, line 2). "I go to no prince to defend me, (whom) I serve not."

[2] The word is *tamau*, the determination obliterated. The same as *tamau*, "book." L.B.D. 124, 9.

[3] A doubtful word, apparently which I translate hypothetically "desire," to suit the context.



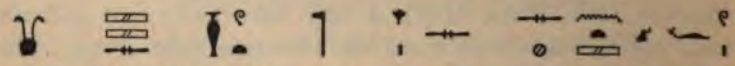
hau-a utu-ut en ab-a er ari mer - es kam-ut.a

hes-ut a er - es.

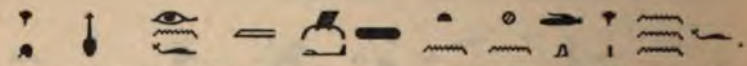
"I walked in the way of Hathor, her fear was in me (*lit.* my limbs). My heart bid me to do her pleasure. I was found acceptable to her."

Further, in line 4 she adds—

au - a em chrot an saa-s sma-cheru utu na ab.a



tem.a sheshes hes-ut neter ha - es s. chentesh-ef-ua



har nefer ari-nef em aua ten chent ha mu-f.

"When I was a child, not knowing how to declare the truth (*i.e.*, distinguish good from evil, truth from falsehood) my heart bid me adopt the sistrum (*i.e.* the badge of Hathor). God was pleased with it, the good ruler made me rejoice, he gave me this gift to walk in his way (or according to his rule)."

Again, line 7, addressing the men of letters, she says—

sim hemt ten er-es ma sim ha mateu eut hout

neteru ach-es er maten neb sim - en - sen ha mu - s

"Lead your wives to her truly to walk in the ways of the queen of the gods; it is more blessed than any other way; lead them in her way."

The following is a translation of the second hymn:—

Hymn to Amen.

(2 Anastasi, page 10, line 1.)

"Come to me, O! thou Sun; Horus of the horizon give me help. Thou art he that giveth (help); there is no help without thee, excepting thou (givest it). Come to me Tum, hear me thou great god. My heart goeth forth towards An (Heliopolis, the city of Tum). Let my desires be fulfilled,[1] let my heart be joyful, my inmost heart in gladness. Hear my vows, my humble supplications[2] every day, my adorations by night; my (cries of) terror . . . prevailing in my mouth, which come from my (mouth?) one by one. Oh! Horus of the horizon there is no other besides like him, protector of millions,

---

[1] The word written sometimes *shemu*, means fundamentally "heat," and hence "ardent desire." means pleasing, agreeable, satisfactory. Thus in the 1st Berlin Papyrus, line 125, "Let him say what is pleasing to his heart, or what will satisfy his desire." See Brugsch Lex. p. 1118. In the 2nd Berlin Papyrus, lines 38, 40, is used for a confidential servant, one who satisfies his master's desire. In the present text the determinative or which usually denotes something bad or unfortunate, appears to be wrongly used. It is often found in connexion with , used in another sense.

[2] *s. nemhu.* I have pointed out the use of this word in the sense of supplication in the notes to the Hymn to Amen (page 4, line 3, of the Boulaq Papyrus, No. 17).

deliverer of hundreds of thousands, the defender of him that calls to him, the lord of An. Reproach me not[1] with my many sins. I am a youth, weak of body.[2] I am a man without heart. Anxiety comes upon me (*lit.* upon my mouth) as an ox upon grass. If I pass the night in .... and I find refreshment, anxiety returns to me in the time of lying down."[3]

These compositions are addressed to the Supreme Being, under the names of Amen, Horus, and Tum, all identical with the Sun. But for the old Egyptians the ruling Pharaoh of the day was the living image and vice-gerent of the Sun, and they saw no profanity in addressing the king in terms precisely similar to those with which they worshipped their god. The following address or petition, which also is found in the Papyrus 2 Anastasi, is a remarkable instance of this.

---

1 Do not censure me.

2 *lit.* without his body. It seems to mean weakness, mutilation, or disability. In the astronomical representation, Burton, Pl. LIX, a personage with amputated arms is named which I take to be another form of the phrase in our text, though *chema*, for is very remarkable.

3 The last lines are rather difficult of translation. I read thus (word lost) (perhaps some words lost). The word *day*, seems used for the time or hour (of lying down). The word *urshau*, which I have met with nowhere but in this passage, I presume to be the same with *urshu*, "watching," "waking." Comp. 4 Anast. $\frac{4}{5}$. The meaning seems to be anxiety of mind preventing sleep,

Hymn or Ode to Pharaoh.

(2 Anastasi, page 5, line 6.)

"Long live the king![1] This comes to inform the king to the Royal Hall of the lover of truth, the great heaven wherein the Sun is. (Give) thy attention to me, thou Sun that risest to enlighten the earth with thy (his) goodness, the solar orb of men chasing the darkness from Egypt. Thou art as it were the image of thy father the Sun, who rises in heaven. Thy beams penetrate the cavern. No place is without thy goodness. Thy sayings are the law[2] of every land, when thou reposest in thy palace, thou hearest the words of all the lands. Thou hast millions of ears. Bright[3] is thy eye above the stars of heaven, able to gaze at the solar orb. If anything be spoken by the mouth in the cavern, it ascends into thy ears. Whatsoever is done in secret, thy eye seeth it, O! Baenra Meriamen, merciful lord, creator of breath."

This is not the language of a courtier. It seems to be a genuine expression of the belief that the king was the living representative of Deity, and from this point of view is much more interesting and remarkable, than if treated as a mere outpouring of empty flattery.

---

[1] "Long live the king!" I venture to substitute this phrase for the ejaculation which frequently occurs in the commencement of letters meaning literally "in life, health and strength." The king being addressed in this letter, he must be the subject of the wish, but I suspect that the meaning is the same even where the expression is used in letters between scribe and scribe.

[2] Law . The word *scheru* has very various meanings. See Brugsch Lex. p. 1296.

[3] Bright *ubesh*, a word of rather rare occurrence, apparently preserved in the Coptic ⲟⲩⲃⲉϣ candidus.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PROPHET DANIEL FROM THE ASSYRIAN WRITINGS.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 6th January, 1874.

In the following short essay I do not propose to enter into the vexed question of the authorship of this prophetical book. My object is merely to show that the writer of the book possessed some correct information concerning the Babylonians, which shows that he could not have lived in very much later times than those which are commonly assigned to him. For, if we suppose that a late writer, say, one writing not long before the Christian era, had undertaken to relate a history involving Babylonian customs of the time of Nebuchadnezzar or Darius, would he not have been liable to fall into great errors?

There are two portions of the book of Daniel in which punishments are related as being common at Babylon of such extreme cruelty that the reader is tempted to doubt whether such were ever inflicted. I mean the third chapter, where Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego are cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace: and the sixth chapter, where Daniel is cast into the den of lions.

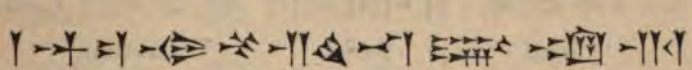
With regard to the first of these punishments it is evidently represented as a common one. Whoever resisted the king's decree was to be so punished (see chap. 3, lines 6 and 11). And on this occasion we are told that the furnace was heated one seven times more than it was wont to be heated: showing that it had been often employed before to execute criminals.

Again in chap. 6, line 7, to be cast into the den of lions is represented as one of the usual punishments for disobedience to the king's commands. The great men of Darius's kingdom treat it as an established custom: the only novelty being that they invented a new offence, in order to entrap Daniel.

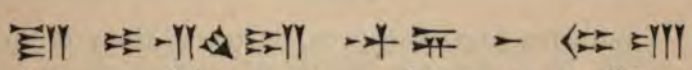
Now I find in the Assyrian writings the plainest proof that both these punishments were in use at Babylon in the days of Assurbanipal: and therefore I think it desirable to produce this evidence, and lay it before the Society.

Saul-mugina was brother of Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who had loaded him with favours and made him king of Babylonia, where he appears to have reigned prosperously for several years. At the end of that time, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, but perhaps coerced or tempted by the powerful king of Elam, the inveterate enemy of Assurbanipal, he ungratefully rebelled against his brother; but after a severe contest was defeated and taken prisoner. The Assyrian monarchs were ever animated by an implacable spirit of revenge. The prisoners were condemned to death, and the king did not spare his own brother, but commanded him to be cast into a burning fiery furnace, which instantly destroyed him. The account will be found in page 163 of Mr. Smith's Annals of Assurbanipal, given in the following words.

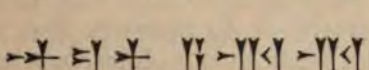
LINE

107. 

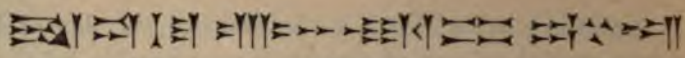
Saulmugina	akhi	nakri
Saulmugina	*my brother*	*rebellious*

108. 

sha	igira	anni,	as	mikit
who	*made war*	*with me,*	*into*	*a furnace*



isati	ariri
fiery	*burning*

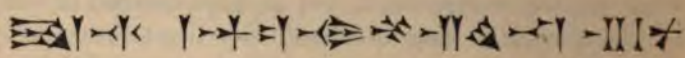
LINE
109. 

iddu-su-ma	ukhalliku	napsat-zu.
they threw him, and	*destroyed*	*his life.*

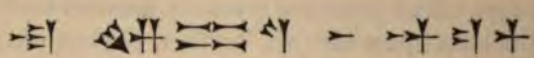
NOTES.—*Mikit:* compare Heb. מוקד 'the fire'—focus: rogus. *Ariri* or *Hariri.* Heb. חרר 'to burn.'

In the next page 164 it is related that many of the followers of Saulmugina made their escape at first, and so were not thrown into the flames along with him. But all of them perished afterwards in divers ways, owing to the just anger of the gods, and "*not one escaped: not a remnant got away.*"

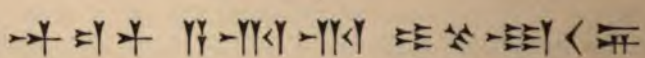
The original text is as follows:

LINE
115. 

itti	Saulmugina	bil-sun
with	*Saulmugina*	*their lord*

116. 

la	imkutu	as	isati
not	*they were thrown*	*into*	*the fire.*

117. 

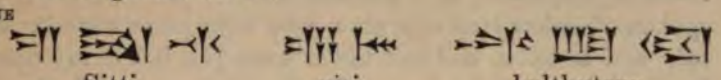
isati	hariri	isetuni.
the fire	*burning*	*they escaped from.*

Isetuni: from Heb. ישע salvavit.

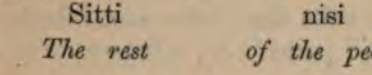
And a few pages further on, the fate of many of them is related. They were cast into the den of lions. See page 166, where we read: "*The rest of the people, alive among the bulls and lions (as Sennacherib my grandfather used to throw men among them), so I again, following in his footsteps, threw those men into the midst of them.*" What cruel coolness, in relating which of the kings was the inventor of this punishment, as if it were a merit to have done so!

The original text is:

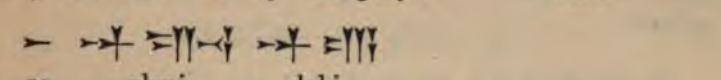
LINE

6. 

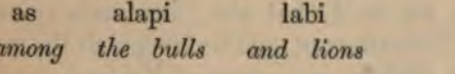
Sitti nisi bulthutzun
The rest of the people alive



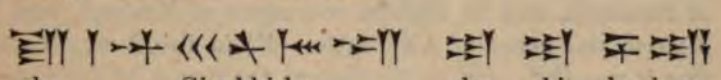
as alapi labi
among the bulls and lions

7. 

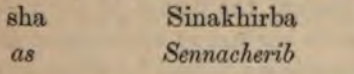
sha Sinakhirba abu abi bani-ya
as Sennacherib the father of my father



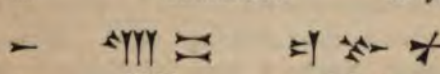
as libbi izbunu
into the midst (of them) used to throw;

8. 

eninna anaku as kispi-su
lo! again I (following) in his footsteps,



nisi satunu
men those

9. 

as libbi azbun.
into the midst (of them) I threw.

The only difficulty in this passage is the phrase *as kispi-su* which is a *metathesis* of *as kipsi-su* "in his path," or "in his footsteps." Similar metatheses are very frequent, as *tikbi* for *tibki* (a measure of length. Heb. טפח). They are also frequent in Hebrew.

Kipsi is a form of the Hebrew כבש 'to tread,' Targ. כבשא 'a trodden way,' Schindler says כבש, Chaldaicè *via, semita.* I will give some examples of the word *kipsi* as

found in Assyrian. In E.I.H. col. ii, 19, wild mountains are spoken of, ashar *kipsi* suprutzu, where the *paths* were broken off; *sepi la ibasu*, and feet never were [*i.e.* before my time]. In another place the king calls the divine stone bulls the guardians *kipsi-ya* 'of my paths,' or *tallakti-ya* 'of my goings.'

In chapter i, v. 7 we read that the Chaldæans gave to Daniel the name of Belteshazzar, and to Hananiah the name of Shadrach, and to Mishael the name of Meshach, and to Azariah the name of Abed-nego. From this it would seem that it was their custom to change the names of foreigners, which perhaps appeared to them barbarous, and to give them Chaldæan names. This custom is confirmed by the Assyrian writings, and I will give a clear instance of it. Psametik was the son of Pharaoh Necho I king of Egypt. The Assyrians at that time were masters of Egypt, and they made him the ruler, or subordinate king, of the city Athribis. At the same time they changed his name, and gave him the name of Nebo-sezib-ani, which means "Nebo save me!" He afterwards apparently ascended the throne of Egypt by his native name of Psammitichus (see G. Smith in Lepsius Zeitschrift, p. 96).

Another person of the same name Nebo-sezib-ani is mentioned in the book of Jeremiah xxxix, 13. The authorized version calls him Nebu-shasban. The name is composed of the Hebrew *sezib* שזב 'to deliver,' and *ani* אני 'me.' This verb is used several times in the Book of Daniel, where the English version has 'deliver,' for instance chap. iii, 15, "who is that god that shall *deliver* you out of my hands!" and chap. vi, 16, 'thy god whom thou servest continually, he will *deliver* thee.'

INDEX TO VOL. II.

A.

PAGE

Abd-Shems Aslam founds the temple of Yatha at Abyan 336
Abyan, temple of the deity Yat'a at 333
Abyan or Abiàn, a district not yet explored by Europeans 334
Abydenus, his account of the reign of Saracus 148
Acheron, its derivation, means "the West" 188
Acraganes, possibly the same as Assurbanipal 163
'Âd, the people of, possibly Sabæans 2
Adar-pileser, the father of Assur-dayan 125
„ retreats to Nineveh 125
„ king of Assyria, captured by Rimmon-pal-iddin 125
Aden, destroyed by the Romans 344
Æneas, remarks on his descent into *Hades*.... 181
Agamemnon deceived by Zeus 184
Agour-tolla, an Indian town, meaning of its name 274
Ahab, king of Israel, defeated by Shalmaneser 136
Ahasuerus, the same as Xerxes 110
Airey, Sir George B., his date for the eclipse of Thales 161
Algum, probably camphor wood 285
Al HamdÂnî, founded cities of Mârib and Maryab 3
Alkama Dhu Yazan (Arabic poet), short notice of.... 11
Almug, *see* Algum wood 284
Amar-ud, the Accadian name of Merodach 246
Amen, the same as the Sun 251
„ hymns to, by C. W. Godwin 353
„ (Ra), hymn to, by C. W. Godwin 250
Amenti, its derivation, means "*the West*" 188
Amestris, queen, probably the same as Esther 110
Amos, predicts the great eclipse of B.C. 763 154
Amulets, Assyrian belief in.... 54
Anarchy in Egypt, B.C. 667–652 176
Anastasi Papyri, hymns from 353
Ancestors, worship of, an ancient form of Egyptian religion 251
Animal worship of the Egyptians misunderstood 250
Annals, *see* Assyrian Annals 328
Anu, "*the heaven of*," the Assyrian name of the highest heaven 230
Anunnak, an Assyrian deity 185
Apis tablets, their date for the reign of Psammetichus 176
Arabia Felix, anciently divided into four kingdoms 342
„ S.W., Map of, to face 1
„ „ recent discoveries in 1

PAGE
Arcesilaus, a Lacedæmonian, son, wins the chariot race 297
Ardates, according to Berosus, the father of Xisuthrus 227
Argives, join the Eleian confederacy 296
„ their policy towards the Lacedæmonians 297
Aristotle, his knowledge of Chaldean astronomy 143
Ark, an, built by the Assyrian patriarch Sisit 219
„ the, its construction 220
„ the, stops on the mountains of Nizir 222
„ the, dimensions of the ark of Noah 226
Artaxerxes, difficulties as to the date of his accession 110
Asa'd Tobba' (Arabic poet), verses from 11
'Athtor, a deity worshipped by the Himyarites 9
Assur, probably the Assyrian counterpart of Nimrod 243
Assur-bel-cala, king of Assyria, conquers Palestine 132
„ his treaty with Merodach-sapic-cullat 132
Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, probably the same as Acraganes 163
„ casts his brother Saulmugina into a burning fiery furnace 361
„ recaptures the image of the goddess Nana 172
„ restores twenty Egyptian kings 175
„ the deluge tablets transcribed in his reign 215
„ the Synchronous History compiled in his reign 119
Assur-dayan, king of Assyria, his war with Car-duniyas 126
Assur-ris-ilim, king of Assyria, his war with Nebuchadnezzar 127
Assur-yupalladh, king of Assyria, war with the Kossi 122
Assyria, ancient list of earthquakes in 155
„ canon of the kings of Assyria and Media 164
„ the Synchronous History compiled during the reign of Assurbanipal 119
„ and Babylonia, Synchronous History of, by Rev. A. H. Sayce 112
„ and Babylonia, royal intermarriages between 135
Assyrian annals, parallel with the history of Isaiah 328
„ belief in amulets and talismans 54
„ canon of Eponyms (Rawlinson) 152
„ canon, on a new fragment of, by George Smith 321
„ charms against demoniacal possession 56
„ chronology, difficulties in 143
„ chronology, error of 100 years in 172
„ deities terrified by the deluge 221
„ empire, its date erroneously fixed by Berosus 142
„ eponyms, further list of 330
„ Hades, description of 180
„ history, its agreement with Biblical chronology 323
„ idea of the soul 32
„ ideas upon sins and trespasses 60
„ kings, begin with Belus 169
„ kings, Eusebius' account of 166
„ language, complicated nature of the verb in 83
„ language, six primary conjugations in 84
„ mysteries 34
„ prayer for forgiveness of sins 60
„ tablet upon inherited sin 58
Assyrians believed in inherited sin 57
„ believed in seven spirits 58
„ held the number seven holy and significant 58
„ practised self-mutilation 52
„ prostrated themselves in devotion 53
„ Religious Belief of, by H. Fox Talbot 29, 50, 346
„ their belief in demoniacal possession 50

PAGE
Assyrians, their reverence for the Mamit 35
„ used books as well as tablets 55
Astyages, date of his death 165
Athor (an Egyptian goddess), *see* Hathor 356
Athribis, Psammetichus, king of, under the Assyrians 364
Aurea Chersonesus, supposed to be Ophir 279
Ava, kingdom of, possibly the ancient Havilah 282

B.

Babel, tower of, supposed tradition of, among the Dyaks 265
Babylon, a Semitic dynasty founded by Tuculti-Adar 125
„ becomes a centre of Jewish learning, A.D. 230 118
Babylonia, *see* Assyria and Babylonia 119
Babylonian mythology, its solar origin 246
„ traditions, the oldest centre round the Persian Gulf 233
Ballams, a kind of boat used in Ceylon 274
Ban, or Van, a common suffix to Indian names 270
Baroni Fair, a great Indian fair, described 270
Bay of Bengal, *see* Bengal 272
Bel, quarrel between Bel and Hea respecting the flood 223
Bel-chadrezzar, king of Assyria, slain 124
Bil Nimiki, "*Lord of Mysteries*," an Assyrian deity 183
Bel-nirari, king of Assyria, assists Curi-galzu 144
Belus, the first of the Assyrian kings 169
Bengal, Bay and district of, volcanic changes in 272
„ Eastern Bay, probably the site of Ophir 286
Benhadad, *see* Ahab, king of Israel 136
Berosus, his account of the deluge examined 227
„ his date for the Assyrian empire erroneous 142
„ proved to be more trustworthy than was believed 171
Biblical chronology, difficulties in.... 327
„ „ its great agreement with Assyrian history 323
Bitumen, used by Sisit in the construction of the ark 220
Black and white cloths, their talismanic significance 56
Bochart, his translation of a speech in the Pœnulus 238, 240
Body, human, its members locally afflicted by evil spirits 57
Books of papyrus or vellum known to the Assyrians 55
Borneo, notes from, illustrative of passages in the Book of Genesis, by Alex. M. Cameron 264
Bosanquet, J. W., on the Date of the fall of Nineveh 147
Brick of Cyrus, king of Persia (plate) 148
Boyle, W. R. A., on the Golden Age of Greece, in connection with the Olympiads 289
Bull, a winged bull conquered by Izdubar 217
„ its significance as a theological title 252
Bunder, a common Indian suffix, its meaning 272

C.

Calneh, probably the same as Nipur 248
Cameron, Alex. M., notes from Borneo illustrative of passages in Genesis 264
„ „ on the identity and site of Ophir and Taprobane 267
Camphor wood, possibly the algum of the Bible 285
Canon of Assyrian Eponyms 152

PAGE
Canon of Castor, extract from 169
„ of kings of Assyria and Media 164
Caraite Jews of the Crimea, their date for the captivity 161
Car-duniyas, a name of Lower Chaldæa 120
„ king of Babylon, his wars with Assur-dayan 126
Carthaginian language and Hebrew, their affinities 236
Casper, *see* Kasper 138
Castor, the canon of (extract) 169
Century, a. 100 years confusion in Assyrian chronology 172
Ceylon, originally called Lanka or Sinhala-dwipa 267
„ peculiarities of 274
„ does not agree with the description of Ophir 278
Chabas, M. F., has translated many Egyptian hymns 353
Chaldæa, Lower, called Carduniyas 120
„ Plains of, a common centre of ancient mythologies 234
Chaldæan account of the deluge, by George Smith.... 213
Change of names, a common Assyrian custom 364
China, possibly the ancient Chittim 282
Chittagong, an Indian town, why so called 271
Chittim, possibly the same as China 282
Chronology, Hebrew, dates in, as arranged by Mr. Bosanquet 150
„ of Assyria, difficulties in 143
Clinton, Fines, his opinion about Nabuchodonosor 158
Conjugation, a ת. On a ת conjugation, by R. Cull 83
„ ת, a mark of Shemitic speech 83
Conjugations, six primary, in the Assyrian language 84
Construction of the ark 220
Continental chronologists, difficulties in their systems 156
Cronos, the deluge foretold 228
Ctesias, wrote from Persian or Median sources 170
Cull, R., on a ת conjugation 83
Cuneiform Inscriptions, continued to Parthian times 143
Cups, divination by, *see* Rodwell on an Assyrian vase 114
Curi-galzu ascends the throne 124
„ restored to his throne by Bel-nirari 144
Cush, probably a geographical title.... 248
Cyaxares besieges Nineveh 149
„ difficulties in his era 162
Cyrus, king of Persia, brick of 148

D.

Daniel, Book of, could not have been written by a late author 360
„ Illustrations of the Book of, from the Assyrian inscriptions. By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S. 360
Den of Lions, death by, references to, on the Assyrian monuments 361
„ the followers of Saulmugina condemned to be thrown into 362
Dante, his idea of Hell probably an Eastern one 350
Dates, leading dates in Biblical History, from the new Assyrian Canon 323
Deluge, the Chaldean account of, by Geo. Smith 213
„ the, caused by the gods 221
„ the, ceases on the seventh day 222
„ the, its increase terrifies the gods 221
„ a pillar of stones erected to commemorate.... 226
„ the, variations between Mosaic and Chaldean narrative of 232
„ the, traditions of, among the Dyaks 265

PAGE
Deluge Tablets, originally written at Erech 213
„ „ part of a series of twelve 213
„ „ proof of their antiquity 214
„ „ copied in the reign of Assurbanipal 215
„ the, further tablets belonging to, still buried in Chaldea 234
Death of the righteous man, Assyrian poem upon.... 31
Demetrius, his dates examined 159
Demoniacal possession, Assyrian charms against 56
De Rougé, his interpretation of the name "*Pharaoh*" 196
"*Destroyer of the Wicked*," an Assyrian title of the Sun 34
Dian-nisi, temple of, built by Nebuchadnezzar 33
„ Assyrian name of the Sun 33
Dido, queen of Carthage, her name a feminine form of David 242
Diodorus Siculus, difficulties raised by his Assyrian chronology 171
Dionysius, derived from Dian-nisi, the Assyrian name of the Sun 33
Directions to make the Assyrian magic knot 54
Divination by cups, its early use 114
Dodœarchy in Egypt, list of the kings 175
Dogs of Merodach, meaning of their names 245
Donaldson, Professor, on Joseph's Tomb in Sechem 80
Dove, a, sent forth from the ark by Sisit 222
Double seasons, known in the kingdom of Tippera 273
Drach, S. M., his translation of a magical inscription 116
„ note upon Joseph's divining cup 118
Dyaks, the, their tradition of a flood 265
„ belief concerning an evil spirit 266

E.

Earthquakes, list of, in Assyria 155
Eclipse of 15th June, 763, its chronological importance 153
„ of Thales, its date established beyond all doubt 161
Eden, Garden of, possibly the Babylonian Gunduni 120
Egypt, anarchy in, B.C. 667 176
Egyptian preposition is also a conjunction and a relative pronoun 306
„ prepositions, note on, by P. le Page Renouf 301
„ „ all admit of a plural form 301
Egyptians acquainted with the story of Merodach.... 245
„ did not really worship animals 250
„ really worshipped the Sun 251
„ kings, list of, restored by Assurbanipal.... 175
„ religion, changes and developments in 251
Eleians, the, usurp the presidency of the Olympic Games 292
„ their war with the Lepreates 292
„ forbid the Lacedæmonians to attend the Olympic Games.... 296
Ellasar, possibly Assur, now Kileh Shergat 243
Eponymus Canon of Assyrian Eponyms 152
Esther, queen, may be the same as Amestris 113
„ „ her name derived from that of the goddess Ishtar 110
Eternity, House of, an Assyrian name for Hades 188
Evil spirits believed to be expelled by the Mamit 41
„ „ supposed to possess power over various members of the body 57
„ „ also seven in number 59
„ spirit, Dyak belief concerning 266
Evil things created from the eyes of Set or Typhon 261
Eusebius, his account of the Assyrian kings 166

PAGE
Eusebius corroborates the error in the Olympic reckoning 299
Eyes of Ra or Horus possess creative power 261
Ezra, on the Coincidences between Ezra and Nehemiah, by Rev. D. H. Haigh 110

F.

Ferdoûsi, his account of the siege of Hamaver 168
Fiery Furnace, punishment by, common in Assyria 360
Forgeries of Himyaritic tablets 21

G.

Garden of Eden, *see* Gunduni 120
Gauldraud, M., discovers seven Himyaritic inscriptions at Abyan.... 333
Genealogy of the gods, much confused in Egypt 251
Genesis, authenticity of 264
Genitive, circumscription of the, explained 306
Gisdhubar, *see* Izdubar 246
Gold found abundantly in the Malay Peninsula 285
Goodwin, C. W., translation of a Hymn to Amen (or Ammon) 250
„ „ Hymns to Amen 353
Greece, on the Golden Age of, in connexion with the Olympiads, by W. R. A. Boyle 289
Greeks place Psammetichus on the throne of Egypt 176
„ their intense reverence for the Olympic Games 290
„ coins used by early Himyarites 6
Green bough, used as a charm on entering Hades 180
Gronovius, his translation of part of a speech in the Pœnulus 238
Grote, in error with regard to the Olympic reckoning 290
Gula, an Assyrian goddess 79
Gunduni, possibly the same as the Garden of Eden 120
Gusur, a name of the deity Merodach 247

H.

Hades, called by Assyrians "the Land of *No return*" 183
„ „ „ "*House of Eternity*" 188
„ descent of Ishtar into 179
„ description of 180
Hadhramaut, kings of 10
Haigh, Rev. D. H., Coincidences between the histories of Ezra and Nehemiah 110
Halévy, M., copies 686 Himyaritic inscriptions 5
„ his Map of S.W. Arabia, to face 1
Hathor, her emblem or amulet, the sistrum worn by Egyptian children 356
Hamavar identified with Nineveh 168
Hanno, the Periplus of, examined with reference to the Himyarites 16
Havilah, possibly the kingdom of Ava 282
„ two places so called 280
Héa, an Assyrian Deity, is the father of the god Marduk 54
„ commands Sisit to build an ark 219
„ determines to save the goddess Ishtar 184
„ reproves the Deity Bel with respect to the flood 223
Hebrew and Phœnician languages, their affinities 236
„ chronology, one cardinal date in 150

PAGE
Hebrew contains vestiges of the use of plural prepositions 301
,, proper names, remarks upon 92
Heliopolis, an Egyptian town, anciently called An.... 309
Helots, the, aggravate the Leprean war 294
Hercules, points of resemblance between Hercules and Izdubar 215
Herodotus, his account of the siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares 149
Hima, the (*the forbidden spot*), the Himyaritic name of Heaven 342
Himalaya Mountains, were visible from Taprobane 276
Himyarites, why so called 3
,, examination of their history at the time of Hanno 17
,, governed by a king (Malik) 3
,, great numbers of bronze tablets of, found lately 5
,, kings of Hadhramaut.... 10
,, list of the kings of Ma'în 9
,, make Raidân their capital 5
,, many spurious tablets manufactured 21
,, paucity of early information respecting 4
,, pedigree of kings of Raidân 13
,, period of B.C. 700 2
,, their arts undeveloped 7
,, their chronology little known.... 19
,, their cities enumerated 3
,, their cities taken by the Romans 14
,, their deities 9
,, ,, mentioned in the Koran 18
,, their numerical system 19
,, their year a lunar one 20
,, uncertain what cities are referred to by Pliny and Ptolemy 15
,, coins discovered by M. Longpérier 5
,, *see* Seba.
Himyaritic Inscriptions found at Abyan 333
,, tablets 23–28
Hincks, Dr. E., his opinion on the Assyrian concave verbs 84
Hind, Mr., his opinion on the eclipse B.C. 763 153
Hippuros, part of, probably Ophir 270
History of Assyria and Babylonia, *see* Assyria 119
Horus, eyes of, possess creative power 261
Hosea, confirmation of a passage in 325
Hoshea, king of Israel, date of his accession 323
House of Eternity, an Assyrian name for Hades 188
Hymn to the Mamit 39

I.

Idolatry not known among the Dyaks 266
'Imâd, a village near Aden, possibly 'Âd 2
India, did not either produce or export gold 285
Inscription, Himyaritic, of Abyan, text restored by MM. Lenormant and Prideaux 335
Inherited sin, a belief among the Assyrians 57
Ishtar, a prayer to 30
,, called "*Lady of the Mountain*" 49
,, deprived of her jewels in Hades 181
,, drinks in Hades the "*water of life*" 184
,, during the flood reproves the world 221
,, her genealogy 95

PAGE
Ishtar, her indifferent character 217
„ legend of the descent of Ishtar into Hades, by H. Fox Talbot 179
„ marries Izdubar, the hero of the Deluge Tablets 216
„ offends Ninkigal, who threatens to punish her in Hades 347
„ the same as Venus 217
Ithamar, king of the Sabæans, pays tribute to Sargina 194
Izdubar, a Chaldean king of the mythical period 214
„ and Urhamsi seek for Sisit 218
„ conquers a winged bull 217
„ erects a pillar of stones to commemorate the deluge 226
„ falling ill, seeks for immortality 217
„ finds Sisit, who relates to him the story of the flood 219
„ his exploits in some respects resemble those of Hercules.... 215
„ marries the goddess Ishtar 216
„ ordered to bathe in the sea 225
„ purified by Sisit 225

J.

Jareb, king, the same as Sennac-jarib 178
Java, colonised by a Sanskritic people 273
„ great revenue derived by the Dutch from 283
„ the ancient Sheba 287
Jehovah, its similarity to the name Yaouah 265
Jewish names of the months are Assyrian 50
Jews of the Crimea, their date for the Captivity 161
Joseph, his tomb at Sechem 80
„ notes upon his possible use of divination 115
Joseph's divining cup, note upon, by Mr. Drach 118
„ tomb, probably an excavation under the present site 32
Josephus, his chronology examined.... 150
"*Judge of Men*," Assyrian title of the Sun 32

K.

Kaspu, or caspu, equals seven miles 139
Kallisthenes, sends to Aristotle early Chaldean astronomical records 143
Khammurabi, his conquest of Babylonia 120
Kileh Shergat, the earliest capital of Assyria 243
Koran, refers to Himyaritic deities.... 18
Kossi, the, conquer Babylonia under Khammurabi.... 120
„ their war against Assur-yupalladh 122
Kurus, the name of the highest money mint in Tartary 280
Kylikomanteia, *see* Divination by Cups 115

L.

Laban, probably used divination 115
Lacedæmonians, the, attack Phyrcon 298
„ forbidden to attend the Olympic Games 296
"*Lady of the Mountain*," a title of the goddess Ishtar 49
Lanka, the ancient name of Ceylon 267
League between Argos, Corinth, Elis, and Mantinea 294
Lenormant, François. Note by W. F. Prideaux on M. Lenormant's "Temple de Dieu Yat'a a Abian" 333

PAGE
Lenormant, M. F., translation of the Inscription of Abyan 336
Leprean War, aggravated by the Helots 294
„ „ origin of 292
Lepreum, a city in Greece; war between it and Elis 291
Letopolis, an Egyptian town, anciently called Sechem 309
Levy, Professor, his translation of the so-called New Moabite Stone 146
List of Members xvi
Longevity in Tippera 275
Longpérier, M. A. de, discovers Himyaritic coins 5

M.

Maccabees, origin of the name 51
Machoscolerus, the same as Nebuchodonosar 163
Magical inscription on a divining cup 116
Magic knots, used by the Assyrians 54
Ma'in, kings of 9
Makâm, Himyaritic word, still used for a church in Abyssinia 22
Malay Peninsula, the largest *tin producing* district in the world 284
Malcolm, Sir John, his opinion upon the Shah Nameh of Ferdousi 158
Mamit, the, a sacred object among the Assyrians 35
„ the, drives away evil spirits 41
„ hymn to 39
„ its further use as a charm 56
„ possibly fell down from heaven (?) 36
„ the, primarily means a solemn oath 36
„ song regarding the.... 40
„ thought to be the only God 39
Mamphula, a kind of Syrian bread 237
Marduk, prayer to 30
Mârib founded by the Al Hamdânî 3
Masoretes, their pronunciation supported 242
Manipur, "*City of Gems*," an Indian town; why so named 277
Matabintain, an Himyaritic goddess 10
Matau, a people early introduced into Egypt as mercenaries 257
Medes, canon of the kings of 164
Megasthenes, his description of Taprobane 268
Members, List of xvi
Mercury, the planet, possibly represented by Merodach 246
Meroduk, an Assyrian deity, is the son of Héa 54
Merodach, analogies between him and Orion 245
„ possibly the planet Mercury 246
„ probably the same as Nimrod 244
„ the names of his dogs 245
„ Baladan king of Babylon, defeated by Sargon.... 326
Merodach-bel-usate revolts against his brother Merodach-sum-iddina 137
Merodach-iddin-akhi, king of Babylon, his war with Tiglath-Pileser 130
Merodach-sapic-cullat, king of Babylon, his amity with Assur-bel-cala 132
Merodach-sum-iddin, king of Babylon, his war with his brother Merodach-bel-usate 137
„ arrested by Shalmaneser 138
Mezzuzoth, *see* Holy Sentences 55
Milky Way, called by the Assyrians "the River of Night" 53
Mitford, account of the Leprean war 293
Mitra, or Mithra, identified with Nebo 246
Moabite Stone, New, note upon 146

PAGE
Months, Jewish names of, are Assyrian 50
Mordecai, his name derived from that of the deity Marduk 110
Moses, his account of the deluge examined 226
Mugeyer, or Mugheir, possibly the ancient Surippac 248
Mupallidhat-Seruà, mother of Carduniyas 122
Mysteries of the Assyrian religion 35

N.

Naba-dwipa, an Indian city, why so called 271
Nabuchodonosar, possibly Sardanapalus 158
„ the same as Thonosconcolerus 163
„ called also Machoscolerus 163
Nana, an Assyrian goddess, her statue recaptured from Elam by Assurbanipal 172
Narain-gunge, an Indian city near the Bay of Bengal 270
Nazibugas, made king by the Kossi 122
„ overthrown by Belnirari 144
Nebo, an Assyrian deity, aids in producing the flood 221
„ identified with the Aryan deity Mitra 246
Nebo-pal-iddina, king of Babylon, his alliance with Shalmaneser.... 136
Nebo-sezi-bani, his name given to Psammitichus by the Assyrians 364
Nebo-sum-iscun, king of Babylon, destroyed in battle 134
Nebuchadnezzar builds the temple at Dian-nisi 33
„ defeats Pharaoh Necho 151
„ king of Babylon, his war with Assur-ris-ilim 127
„ „ builds the wall of Babylon 148
Nebu-shasban, the same name as Nebu-sezi-bani 364
Nebbi Yunas, still unexplored 327
Negus, origin and significance of the title 3
Nehemiah, *see* Ezra 110
Nergal, an Assyrian deity, aids in producing the flood 221
Nile, the river, metaphors from 355
Nimrod, probably the Babylonian counterpart of Assur.... 243
„ and the Assyrian inscriptions, by Rev. A. H. Sayce 243
„ probably the same as Merodach 244
Nineveh, on the date of the fall of, by J. W. Bosanquet 147
Ninip, an Assyrian deity, aids in producing the flood 221
Ninkigal, lord of Hades 183
„ queen of Hades, her furious character.... 347
Nipur, probably the ancient Calneh 248
Nizir, the ark stops on the mountains of 222
Noah, parallel between his ark and that of Sisit 226
"*No return*," Land of, the Assyrian name for Hades 183

O.

Oannes, the fish deity, supposed to have risen from the Persian Gulf 233
Olympiads, a mistake to consider their succession uninterrupted 289
„ error of two years in the date of the first 289
„ origin of the two years' error in 298
„ really began in B.C. 778, not 776 300
„ the first eighty-seven are two years in error 299
„ their connexion with the Golden Age of Greece 289
Olympic Games, interrupted by the Leprean war 298
"*One in His Works*," a title of Amen-Ra 253

PAGE
Ophir, on the site of, by A. M. Cameron 267
„ certainly not Ceylon.... 278
„ 20,000 miles, by coast, from Ezion-geber 284
„ probably Eastern Bengal 286
„ sources of information respecting 278
„ thought to be the Aurea Chersonesus 279
Oppert, Dr., his account of Shamsi-vul 167
Orchamus, the same as Urhamsi 218
Orion, analogies between Orion and Merodach 245
Osirian myths, their late date 251
Otiártes, the same as Ardates, which see 229

P.

Pœnulus of Plautus, notes by Mr. Cull upon the Phœnician passage in the 102
„ *see* Plautus 235
Palestine, claimed to be conquered by Assur-bel-cala 132
Palibothra, the ancient name of Patna 268
Pultiphagi, an epithet applied to the Phœnicians 237
Papyri Anastasi, *see* Amen.
Papyrus Boulaq, No. 17, translated 253
Parallels between the history of Isaiah and the Assyrian annals 328
Parthians used cuneiform inscriptions 143
Patna, the ancient Palibothra 268
Perak, the Malayan name for silver 284
Persian Gulf, the centre of old Babylonian traditions 233
Pharaoh, an Egyptian prayer to him as a Deity 359
„ meaning of the name, according to De Rougé 196
Pharaoh-Necho defeated by Nebuchadnezzar 151
Phœnician and Hebrew languages, their affinities 236
Phœnicians, great eaters of cereals 237
„ the ancient reputation for carpentry 236
Phulus, a more than suspicious name 142
Phyrcon, the fort, attacked by the Lacedæmonians 298
Pillar of stones erected by Izdubar to commemorate the deluge 226
Plautus, date of his composition of the Pœnulus 235
„ notes by Mr. Cull upon the Pœnulus of 102
„ on the Phœnician passage in the Pœnulus of, by Rev. J. M. Rodwell 235
Pliny, his account of divination by cups 116
Plural prepositions traceable in Biblical Hebrew 301
Prachii, the, colonised Taprobane 268
Prayer, Assyrian, for forgiveness of sins 60
„ to Ishtar 30
„ to Marduk 30
„ to the King as a Deity 359
Prepositions, Egyptian, note on, by P. le Page Renouf 301
Prideaux, Captain F. W., note on M. Lenormant's "Letter sur l'Inscription dédicatoire Himyaritique du Temple du Dieu Yat'a à Abian" 333
Prideaux, Captain W. F., recent discoveries in South-Western Arabia 1
„ „ translation of the inscription of Abyan 336
Proper names, remarks upon Hebrew Proper Names 92
Prostration in devotion, an Assyrian custom 53
Psammetichus, king of Athribis, named by the Assyrians Nebo-sezib-ani.... 364
„ placed on the throne of Egypt by the Greeks 176
Ptah, very early worshipped in Egypt 251
Punishment, future, of the wicked, Assyrian belief in 346

R.

PAGE
Ra, the eyes of Ra said to possess creative powers.... 261
Raidân, coin of 5
„ its true site 10
Raven, a, sent forth from the ark by Sisit 222
Religious belief of the Assyrians, by H. Fox Talbot, No. II. 29
„ „ „ No. III. 50
„ „ „ No. IV. 346
Renan, Professor, his translation of the New Moabite Stone 146
Renouf, P. le Page, note on Egyptian Prepositions 301
Rezin, king of Syria, his defeat by Shalmaneser 322
Righteous man, Assyrian poem upon the death of the 31
Rimmon-pal-iddin captures King Adar-pileser 125
"*River of Night*," the Assyrian name for the milky way 53
Rodwell, Rev. J. M., his translation of a magical inscription 116
„ on the Phœnician passage in the Pœnulus of Plautus 235
„ Remarks upon a Terra Cotta Vase 114
Romans, the, conquer the Himyarites ....

S.

Sâbâ, an early name for Sheba 283
Sachi-bunder, an Indian town, why so called 272
Sacramentum, various meanings of the word 37
Salike, a late name of Taprobane 267
Samat 'ali, pedigree of dynasty of 13
Samaria captured by Sargon 177
Sammuramat, legend of 157
Sardanapalus, date of the fall of 169
„ possibly the same as Nabuchodonosor 158
Sargon, king of Assyria, captures Samaria.... 177
„ „ date of his war against Merodach Baladan 326
„ „ receives tribute from Ithamar, king of the Sabæans 194
Saul-mugina, king of Babylon, cast by his brother into a burning fiery furnace 361
Sayce, Rev. A. H., on Nimrod and the Assyrian inscriptions 243
„ Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia 119
Scriptural parallels to Assyrian phrases 51–53
Seba and Sheba, the two races of 2
„ list of their deities 18
„ possibly the people of 'Âd 2
„ probably united with Sheba, B.C. 700 2
„ *see* also Himyarites 4
Sechem and An, the ancient names of Letopolis and Heliopolis 309
„ Joseph's Tomb at 80
Self-mutilation practised by the Assyrians 52
Self-wounding in honour of Ishtar.... 53
Semiramis, *see* Sammuramat 157
Semitic prepositions are substantives in a construct state 301
Sennacherib, king of Assyria, inventor of the punishment of death in the lion's den 362
Sennacherib, the same as "king Jareb," or Sennac-jarib 178
Sentences, holy, placed by the Assyrians to protect their doors 55
Seti, king of Egypt, quotation from the sarcophagus of 252
Set, or Typhon, evil things created from the eyes of 261
Seven, evil spirits expelled from the body.... 59

PAGE
Seven, the sanctity of the number among the Assyrians 58
„ spirits, song of 58
Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, allies himself with Nebo-pal-iddina 136
„ „ assists Merodach-sam-iddin 138
„ „ defeats Benhadad and Ahab 136
„ „ probably an usurper 325
„ „ proved to have ascended the throne, B.C. 727 321
„ „ revolts against Tiglath-Pileser, B.C. 728 325
Sheba, early called Sâbâ 283
„ *see* Seba 2
„ the same as Java 287
Shemas causes a flood 221
Shemitic languages, a ת conjugation in 83
Shemtob, Mr., discovers an Assyrian vase at Hillah 114
Shipwreck of Tammaritu, king of Elam 72
Sichæus, husband of Dido, his name derived from the same root as Zacchæus 242
Sin, *see* Inherited sin 57
Sinhala-dwipa, the ancient name of Ceylon 267
Sins and trespasses, vivid ideas of the Assyrians upon 59
Sisit, address of his wife to, after the flood 224
„ an Assyrian patriarch, who received immortality 217
„ commanded by Héa to build an ark 219
„ his conversation with Izdubar 218
„ leaves the ark.... 223
„ relates to Izdubar the story of the flood 219
„ sends forth a dove from the ark 222
„ sends forth a raven from the ark 222
„ sends forth a swallow from the ark 222
„ the Xisuthrus of the Greeks 217
„ translated by the gods 224
Sistrum, the, worn by children as the badge of Hathar 356
Sisuthrus, *see* Xisuthrus 227
Smith, George, his translation of a brick of Cyrus.... 148
„ on a New Fragment of the Assyrian Canon belonging to the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser.... 321
„ the Chaldean account of the deluge 213
Society of Biblical Archæology, rules of .... xxv, xxvi
Solar origin of Babylonian Mythology 246
Sonargaon, an Indian city, meaning of the name 287
„ probably the capital of Ophir 286
Song of the Seven Spirits 58
„ regarding the Mamit 40
Sophir, an early Coptic name for India 279
Soul, the, according to the Egyptians, possessed two natures 262
„ Assyrian idea of 32
Spirits, evil, Assyrian belief in 41
„ seven in number 58
Sumatra, a colony of Taprobane 282
Sun, the, called by the Assyrians "*Judge of Men*" 32, 350
„ called also "*Destroyer of the Wicked*" 34, 350
Sun worship, the central doctrine of Egyptian religion 250
Surippac, probably the same as Mugeyer 248
Surippak, an ancient Chaldean city.... 219
Swallow, a, sent forth from the ark by Sisit 222

T.

PAGE

ת Conjugation, *see* Cull, R.
Talbot, H. Fox, Illustrations of the Book of Daniel from the Assyrian inscriptions 360
" on the Future Punishment of the Wicked, a doctrine of the Assyrian religion 346
" on the Religious Belief of the Assyrians, No. II. 29
" " " No. III. 50
" " " No. IV. 346
" on the legend of Ishtar descending into Hades 179
Talismans and amulets, Assyrian belief in.... 54
Tammaratu, king of Elam, account of the shipwreck of 72
Taprobane, called subsequently Salike 267
" great overland trade of.... 276
" great population of 277
" its extent 268
" life preserved to 100 years in 275
" on the site of Ophir and Taprobane 267
" *eighteen* points of analogy between it and Tippera 269–277
" the same as Tippera 269
Thales, eclipse of, B.C. 585 161
Tharshish, its probable locality 281
Thibet, properly T'Bhôt—the land of Bhôt 286
Thonosconcolerus, the same as Nabuchodonosor 163
Thucydides, his account of the Leprean war 293
Tiggaba, an Assyrian city, so named from its lofty Acropolis 196
Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, date of his war with Rezin, king of Syria 322
" " defeated by Shalmaneser, B.C. 727 325
" " his war with Merodach-iddin-akhi 130
Tin found most in the Malay peninsula 284
Tippera, its monarchy elective 272
" kingdom of, the same as Taprobane 269
" life preserved to 100 years in 275
Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, doubtful if he began to reign B.C. 701 327
Tuculti-adar, king, probably founds a Semitic dynasty at Babylon 125
Typhon, *see* Set 261

U.

Ubaratutu, the father of Sisit 217
Ukni stone, a precious gem among the Assyrians 223
Unfaithful consorts, their punishment in Hades, according to Assyrian belief 347
Urhamsi, a companion of Izdubar in his travels 218

V.

Van, *see* Ban, a common Indian suffix 270
Vase, Terra Cotta, remarks upon an Assyrian, by Rev. J. M. Rodwell 114
Vincent, Dean, criticism on his notes to the Periplus 16
Vul, an Assyrian deity, aids in producing the flood 221

W.

Wadd, an Himyaritic deity.... 9
"*Water of Life*," drank in Hades by the goddess Ishtar.... 184

PAGE
West, the, its significance in ancient theologies 188
Winged bull, a, conquered by Izdubar 217

X.

Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther 110
Xisuthrus, said by Berosus to be the son of Ardates 227
" the same as the Assyrian patriarch Sisit 217

Y.

Yaouah, a Dyak name for the Supreme Being 265
Yat'a, an Himyaritic deity 333

Z.

Zacynthus, the modern Zante 291
Zeus sends a dream to deceive Agamemnon 184
Zhafâr, early date of the city of 3

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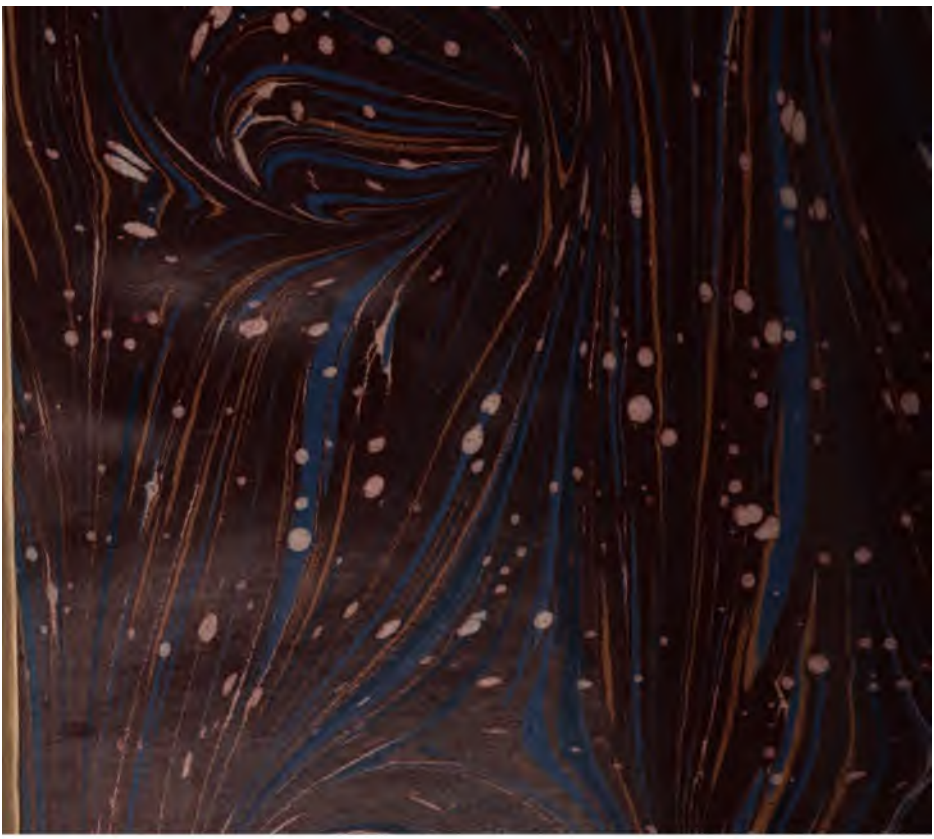

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